

The DC Gazette

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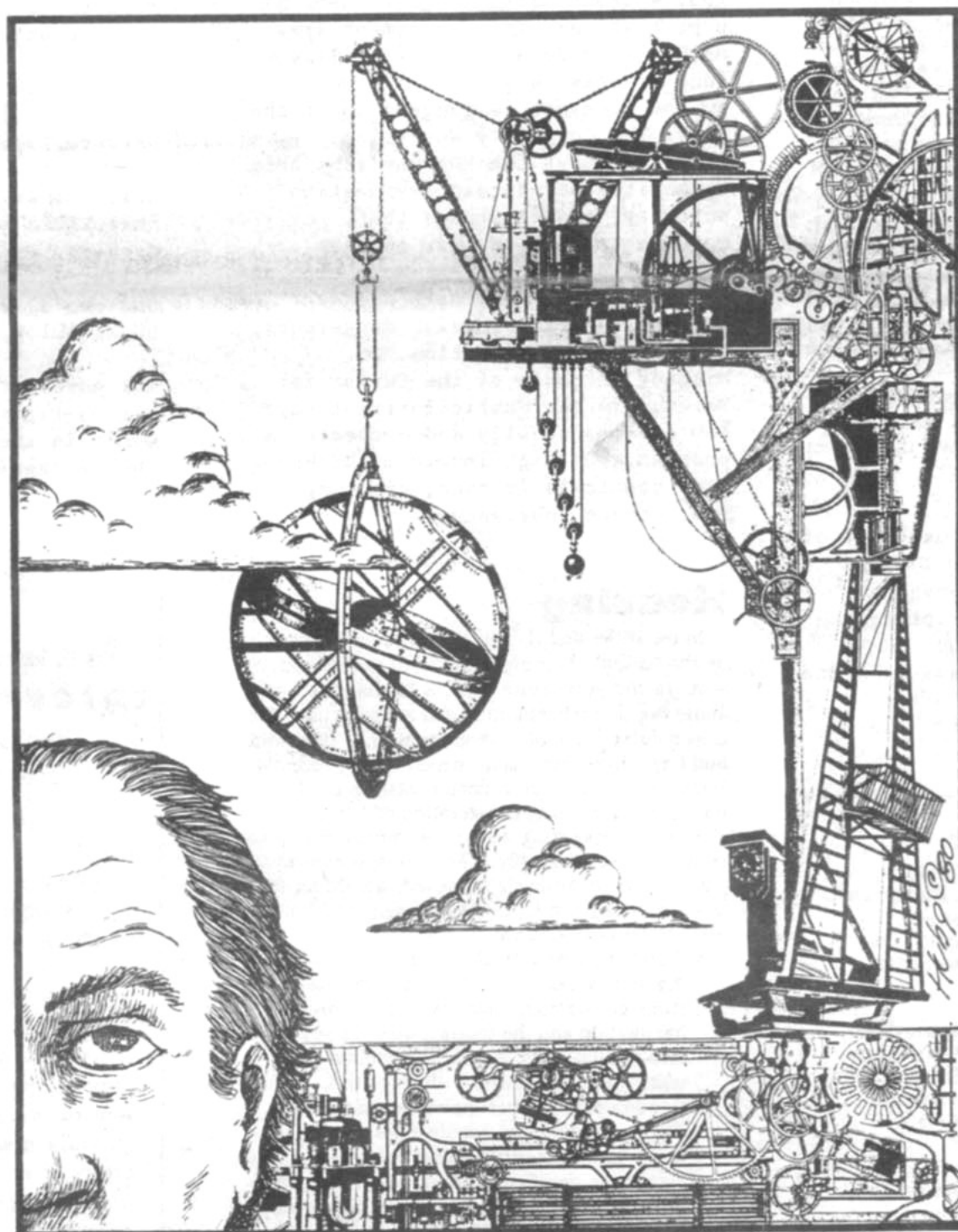
JUNE - JULY 1983

Whole Number 231

AN INTERVIEW WITH RALPH NADER



RIGHT TO SHELTER



THE DEATH PENALTY

BUCKING THE SYSTEM SINCE 1966

PROGRESSIVE DIGEST

Peace

Erica Bouza, anti-nuclear activist and wife of the Minneapolis police chief, was one of 130 protesters arrested and charged with trespassing at Honeywell Incorporated's headquarters. Bouza said getting arrested was the "last thing" she wanted to do. "But" she added, "if you think of the difference between nuclear war and a police chief being slightly embarrassed, that's not much of a comparison, is it?"

Health

Anyone who grabs a candy bar for quick energy be warned: scientists now say sugar can put you to sleep. MIT researcher Richard Wurtman says a high-carbohydrate meal will cause the body to secrete insulin, making you sleepy and diminishing your sensitivity to pain. Harvard University psychiatrist Bonnie Spring says older people seem to have the strongest reactions to food: carbohydrates calm them down, and protein makes them angry.

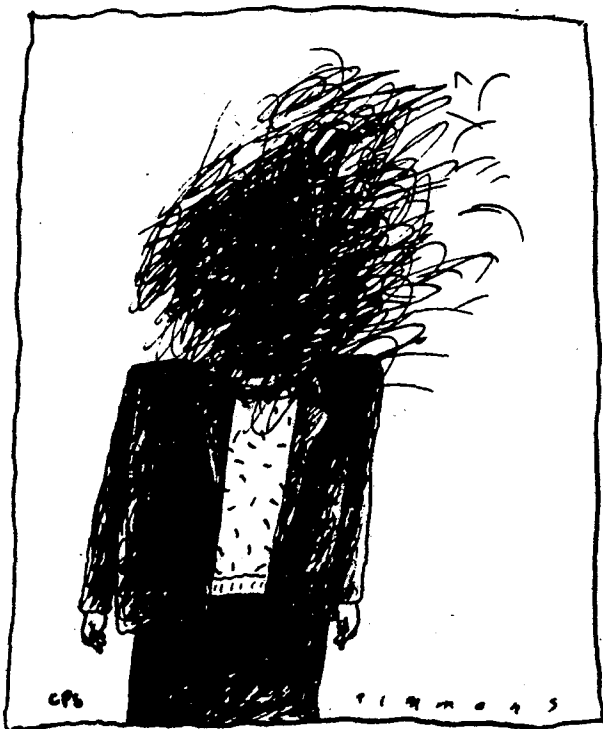
All women still using the Dalkon Shield intrauterine device should have their doctors remove them.

That warning comes from the Department of Health and Human Services, in the wake of a study by the Food and Drug Administration and the Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta. That study found that women who use the Dalkon Shield face a five times greater risk of developing pelvic inflammatory disease than women who use other types of IUDs.

FDA representative Christopher Smith said this was the first study large enough to determine accurately the risk of the Dalkon Shield, which was taken off the market in 1974 because of reports of pregnancy-related infections. Smith added that there is no way of knowing how many women still use the Dalkon Shield.

The government warning echoes the advice of A-H Robins, the Dalkon Shield's manufacturer, which itself urged women to have the devices removed as far back as 1980.

Under pressure for the Department of Agriculture, the Food and Drug Administration is considering loosening its rules restricting the use of radiation as a food preservative. The USDA says moderate dosages of radiation can often double or triple the shelf life of



food without using harmful chemical preservatives. The department says much higher dosages can sterilize food indefinitely.

Not everyone is gung-ho about the idea. The Community Nutrition Institute says the FDA won't be able to monitor widespread irradiation activity, and it argues that consumers who live near nuclear power plants or who eat more than an average amount of fruits and vegetables might receive dangerously high levels of radiation. Dr. Michael Jacobson of the Center for Science in the Public Interest says low dosages usually don't create a problem, but high levels might break down chemicals in food, creating new, unsafe substances.

Housing

In the fifties and sixties, all but about 10 percent of the nation's housing came from new construction. In the years since then, a lot has been said about housing rehabilitation and adaptive use—the conversion of schools, warehouses, and other old buildings into new apartments. Only recently, however, has there been documentation on the extent to which housing conservation and more intensive use of the existing stock have contributed to the country's overall supply. *These sources contribute far more than formerly supposed*, according to a new report by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development:

- A full 28 percent of all units added to the housing supply between 1973 and 1980 has come from conversions: adaptive use, housing rehabilitation and the splitting up of large homes into smaller units. Nearly five million housing units were "created" during this period through means other than new construction.
- The contribution of adaptive use and rehabilitation to the country's rental housing supply is even more significant. Most conversions result in multifamily rather than single family units, and from 1973 to 1980, they accounted for an average of 670,000 more units a year. New multifamily units averaged only 520,000 units a year during this period.
- 21,800 housing units have been "created" through tax act rehabilitation of historic properties since 1976; another 6,700 units have been renovated. Of the 28,500 new or improved units almost 40 percent have been for low and moderate income families.
- Thirty-one percent of the nation's housing

stock, about 26.7 million units, is in structures built before 1940. Approximately 24 million households, or about 65 million people, live in pre-1940 housing.

The sexes

Nine to Five, the national association of working women, found in a recent survey that a computer is not always a woman's best friend. Of the approximately 415 women who said they used video display terminals on the job, more than two thirds said they had little say over the introduction of use of the machines. And though the VDTs increased productivity, 64 percent of the workers said they received no boost in pay in recognition for their improved performance. In addition, almost half the workers complained about the monotonous work done on their terminals and one-third reported they received inadequate rest breaks.

The National Women's Health Network has set up a litigation information service to inform women on such medical products as the Dalkon shield intra-uterine device, the injectable contraceptive Depo-Provera, and various birth control pills. Info: LIS c/o Sybil Shainwald, PO Box 5055, FDR Station, NY NY 10150.

The governor of Washington has signed legislation that permits women in the state to file rape charges against their husbands.

THE DC GAZETTE

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The Gazette welcomes articles, letters and photos as well as short stories and poems, but cannot, unfortunately, afford to pay for them. All submissions should be made with a stamped self-addressed envelope if you wish material returned.

Deadline for editorial and advertising matter: 15th of the month.

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Memo to public interest groups & progressive organizations

• Are we on your mailing list for your newsletter? News releases? Please check.

• We are interested in short articles on work in progress, projects and analyses of current events.

• We would also welcome copies of policy papers and testimony.

• We will be happy to run without charge information on the resources you provide, requests for assistance, or help wanted ads. First priority, however, will go to those who type them for us. We prefer 3" or 6" margins.

• Let us know about important staff changes.

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Senator Alan Cranston is the only US senator to have an openly gay person on his staff. He was also the first senator to introduce legislation that would do away with the immigration law barring gays from entry into the country, and is a cosponsor of the Gay Rights bill.

Stanford University has accepted a \$2000 scholarship from the school's gay and lesbian alliance. The scholarship is to go to a medical student who shows "a commitment to serving the gay community."

Montana has passed the first law in the US that prohibits basing insurance rates and benefits on gender. The law goes into effect in 1985.

The New York Legal Aid Society has filed a class-action suit against the city's department of corrections, charging that the policy of separating female prisoners from their children violates state law as well as the constitutional ban on cruel and unusual punishment.

Women's studies programs are thriving and growing across the US, while black studies courses are being wiped out in large numbers. American colleges are offering 20,000 women's studies classes this year, compared to just 17 in 1969, while little more than half the black studies programs around ten years ago still exist today. One problem is that black studies have remained independent from other disciplines, which makes them more vulnerable to budget cuts. Some black educators also charge that college administrators are using the recession as an excuse to get rid of black studies which they never had much commitment to in the first place.

A new government report indicates sexual harassment is very nearly the rule rather than the exception in the federal bureaucracy. Forty-two percent of all women who work for the government say they've experienced some form of sexual harassment, as well as 15 percent of the men. Almost all the women said the sexual overtures came from men, among the males, 22 percent said the harassment came from other men. The Departments of Labor, Transportation and Justice had the worst records, with over 50 percent of female employees saying they had been harassed.

Senator Thomas Eagleton (D-Mo.) plans to introduce an alternative to the anti-abortion constitutional amendment—the "Human Life Federalism Amendment"—introduced by Senator Orrin Hatch (R-Utah). The Eagleton substitute is considered a grave threat by pro-choice groups.

The Eagleton amendment will state simply, "A right to abortion is not secured by this Constitution." In Eagleton's words, it would "return the law to where it was before 1973 . . ." when the Supreme Court ruled, in *Roe v. Wade*, that a woman has a constitutional right to terminate her pregnancy.

Under Eagleton's "Reverse Roe" amendment, states would be able to prohibit or restrict abortion, requiring parental or spousal consent, 24-hour waiting periods, and "informed consent," for example, and erecting other obstacles as well.

"Reverse Roe" is dangerous because it appears to be a compromise. Eagleton—a liberal on most issues but a conservative on abortion—told fellow Senators that "some Senators who are not willing to support a Garn or Hatch amendment or a Helms

PROGRESS DOESN'T HAVE TO BE DULL

A lot of journals of the left-liberal-progressive persuasion tend to be heavy going. The Gazette has a different idea. It believes that progress should be fun. As Emma Goldman said, "If I can't dance I don't want to join your revolution."

A lot of journals of the left-liberal-progressive persuasion tend to be written tediously. The Gazette has a different idea. The Gazette believes in good writing. Not fancy, strident or self-indulgent writing, but writing that moves the heart and mind.

That's why the Gazette is unique among progressive publications. For seventeen years it has been fighting for social and political change with style and humor. Here are just a few of the things you'll find in the Gazette:

- **THE PROGRESSIVE DIGEST:** a round-up of news items about the environment, politics, the economy, justice, peace, the military and the sexes that are significant but which you are not likely to find in the corporate media.
- **THE BEST OF THE ALTERNATIVE NEWS SERVICES:** Pacific News Service, HerSay News Service, College Press Service, Community Press Features and Rip 'n' Read.
- **ARTHUR HOPPE:** A rare creature: a truly funny and progressive syndicated humorist.
- **EUGENE McCARTHY:** writing with savvy, conscience and wit.
- **DAVID ARMSTRONG:** the former editor of the Berkeley Barb and author of a fine book on the alternative press covers the social and political waterfront in his American Journal.
- **CHUCK STONE:** Senior editor of the Philadelphia Daily News and one of the country's leading black journalists. Stone, the author of numerous books on social justice, has been a part of the civil rights movement since before there hardly was any.
- **CHARLES McDOWELL:** The gentle humor and perceptions of a man long regarded as one of the best writers in the Washington press corps.
- **APPLE PIE:** A smorgasbord of ironic, revealing or just plain funny items about what it means to be an American.
- **LIFE & RELATED SUBJECTS:** The off-the-wall perspectives of humorist Dave Barry.
- **FINDING OUT MORE:** Where to get more information on matters of interest to activists and progressives.
- **FACT SHEETS:** Basic information on important social and political issues.
- **THE PRESS:** Bob Alperin pores through the media to find what it being done right, wrong or not at all.

The Gazette is edited by Sam Smith, a longtime activist-journalist whose work has appeared in numerous publications both here and abroad. The Washington Post once called him a "friendly anarchist." The Washington Star once wrote: "What Sam Smith and the paper he edits are all about is a combination of things Americans profess to hold dear: iconoclasm, a deeply felt sense of community and, above all, independence." The Washington Tribune called him "One of the best writers in a city full of good writers." Not merely an arm-chair observer, Smith has been active in national campaigns such as the McCarthy and Fred Harris efforts and was a co-organizers of one of the few third parties ever to win public office in recent times.

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bill . . . would support an amendment which in essence wipes off the law books . . . *Roe v. Wade* . . .
—ADA World

Proposed by Senator David Durenberger (R.-Minn.), with bipartisan support, the Economic Equity Act would correct inequities suffered by women in pensions, tax policy, insurance, government regulations, child support, and alimony enforcement.

The EEA would ban the use of sex-based actuarial tables for determining insurance premiums and benefits (ending the industry's practice of giving women smaller pensions).

ADA urges that the act be made retro-active so that past inequities are corrected; current female retirees and women who already have paid premiums would benefit.

Under the act, federal regulations reflecting unequal treatment of women would be revised. In addition, the act would help unemployed women by including displaced homemakers in the list of eligible hires under the targeted jobs tax credit.

A new report from the US Civil Rights Commission says that female-headed families now make up nearly one half of all families living in poverty.

The Commission's report, titled "A Growing Crisis: Disadvantaged Women and Their Children" charges that the feminization of poverty has been a problem for some time, but that "it has not come to the correct attention of the general public."

The commission reports that the numbers of poor families headed by women rose by 54 percent between the years 1960 and 1981. During those same years, the numbers of families in poverty which were headed by white men decreased by 48 percent.

Military

About 146,000 American military veterans may be surprised to learn that they are draft-dodgers. They've violated a little known clause of the Selective Service Act which requires members of the military

born after January 1, 1960, to register for the draft when they leave active service. The law provides no draft exemption for having served in the military, according to a story in Federal Times.

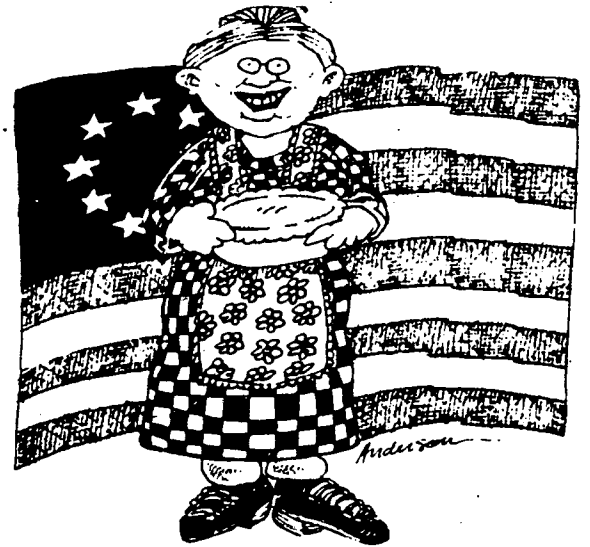
The Scowcroft Commission on Strategic Forces has issued its recommendations on the MX missile. Its report concedes that it is not possible to survivably base the MX, and then proposes deploying 100 of these destabilizing first-strike weapons in existing Minuteman silos. And why spend up to \$30 billion on a system that in no way enhances our ability to deter an attack, that in fact increases the chance of a nuclear war?

The commission answers: "Cancelling the MX, when it is ready for flight testing, when over \$5 billion have already been spent on it, and when its importance has been stressed by the last four Presidents, does not communicate to the Soviets that we have the will essential to effective deterrence." And there we have it: a matter of national will, not a matter of intelligent need-oriented policy making designed to reduce the risk of nuclear war.

—ADA World

Shop talk

Congratulations to the National Clean Air Coalition which is celebrating its tenth year. Founded to preserve the Clean Air Act in the face of assaults on it during the Arab oil embargo, the coalition represents 28 national organizations and serves as a network for hundreds of regional groups.



Apple Pie

The Reagan administration says it has good reasons for ordering sweeping security measures to prevent leaks of classified information. The catch is that the reasons are classified. Under new White House orders, hundred of thousands of federal employees could be subjected to mandatory secrecy pledges and polygraph tests. Defending the moves in Congress, deputy assistant attorney general Richard Willard said past leaks have caused a lot of damage but to say any more about them would "confirm the information and compound the damage."

Two producers from the American Broadcasting Company have come up with what the *New York Times* is calling the "hottest underground videotape in Washington."

The piece, produced by Sharon Young and Carole Simpson, uses a bit of editing to combine scenes from old Ronald Reagan movies with outtakes from TV news shows. The women call it, "Tapes of Wrath."

The tape begins with a voice proclaiming, "Ladies and gentlemen, the President of the United States." Then strains of "Hail to the Chief" are heard and Reagan, clad in western gear, strides through a saloon door. Then he is confronted with a man who shouts, "I'm poor and I'm hungry. What am I going to do?" The cowboy-suited Reagan yells, "Shut up," and punches him in the mouth.

An estimated 23-million adult Americans—one in five—cannot read or write well enough to get by. A recent national survey by the University of Texas found one-third of all adults can't read a bus schedule or figure out how much money has been deducted from their paychecks. As a result, the US military has been forced to revamp its training manuals—to picture-book form.

The African nation of Burundi is one of the world's smallest and poorest, with a per capita annual income of only \$200. The country has little in the way of health care, transportation or communications, and would seem to be a prime candidate for foreign aid. And so it is: the Reagan administration has just given Burundi \$10,000 worth of basketballs.

Federal narcotics agents estimate that last year, Americans spent 90-billion dollars on illegal drugs—twice as much as they spent on clothes. The dope trade is the nation's fastest-growing business, bigger than any corporation except Exxon. And it seems to be attracting an increasing number of otherwise respectable citizens. Auto millionaire John Delorean is just one of many prominent figures who have been linked to narcotics trafficking. In the past six months, similar allegations have involved a Baptist minister in Mississippi, a former Florida supreme court justice and the first violinist with New York's Metropolitan Opera. As one



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Florida drug agent put it, "We're not talking about your regular slimeball any more."

And it's not just big shots, either. A Justice Department official says you'd have to go back to prohibition to find a comparable level of police corruption. In the last year, three North Carolina police chiefs and three Tennessee county sheriffs have been indicted or convicted of smuggling. And a federal undercover agent who helped bust 120 pot dealers last year is now awaiting trial for . . . importing marijuana.

There's a theory in psychology which holds that we expend less energy on group projects than individual tasks. It called "social loafing," and two of the biggest loafers may have been John Lennon and Paul McCartney. Researchers Jeffrey Jackson and Vernon Padgett analyzed 162 songs written by the two Beatles, either jointly or alone. They found the joint compositions were inferior by at least two standards: they were less likely to have been chosen for release as singles, and if they did come out as singles, they didn't sell as well. "For at least the later years," the researchers say, "the Lennon-McCartney team socially loafed when they co-wrote songs."

Taking a page from Iran's mullahs, a fundamentalist Presbyterian church is advocating that the U.S. become a religious state, in which civil courts would enforce the laws of the Old Testament. The Orthodox Presbyterian Church argues that "the only proper standard of rule is the law of God." What about the founding fathers' concept of the separation of church and state? Sacrilege, say that Orthodox Presbyterians—God's rule is law "until the universe as we know it passes away." This means that the Bible's punishment of death for adultery could still apply. But don't get the impression the Presbyterians are stick-in-the-muds. For instance, a church official explains that the Old Testament requirement that fences be put on the roofs of newly constructed homes can be ignored, "since our roofs are not flat and we do not use them for social gatherings."

A West German firm is reportedly on the verge of perfecting a super-train capable of speeds up to 250 miles-an-hour—without using wheels. The train, currently being tested over a 12-mile course in Bavaria, is powered by magnetic motors which suspend it just two inches above a single elevated rail, and propel it silently and frictionlessly at near-aircraft speeds. The "Mag-Lev" trains, as they're known, have attracted interest from all over the world. Las Vegas officials reportedly want to use them for "Gamblers' Specials" from Los Angeles. At an average speed of just under 200 miles-an-hour, the trip from L.A. would take just 65 minutes—faster than flying.

People don't swear like they used to. So says South Carolina English professor Dr. Norman Olsen, who specializes in the use of swear words. Olsen says people used to be able to cuss at great length without resorting to vulgar obscenities. He blames the decline of oral and written skills on television. As an example of true cussing style, Olsen cites this blast, overheard from a lumber camp operator addressing a mule: "You bandy-legged, spavinated, hay-burning son of an illegitimate, misconceived, ornery, hell-fired cuss of a varmint! Either get your tail in high gear or I'll flay the flesh off your bones and leave your stinking carcass for the box-ankled hounds and split-toed buzzards to feed on."

FINDING OUT MORE

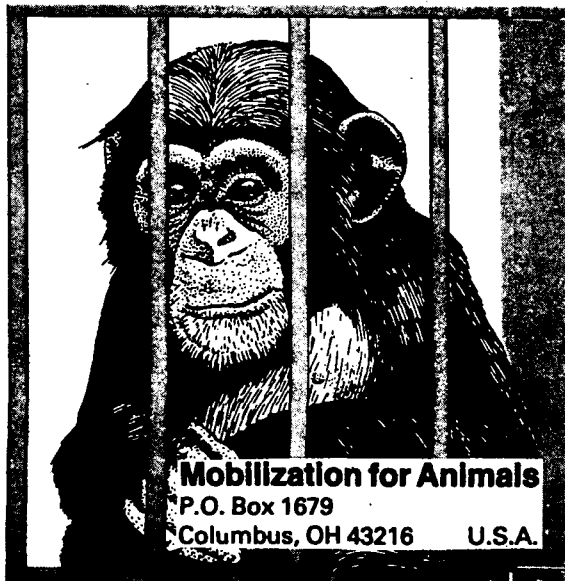
PSYCHOLOGY EXPERIMENTS AUGUST 25, 1984

Approximately one hundred million animals are killed in experiments every year, three every second. Of all these experiments, those conducted in psychology are the most painful, pointless, and repulsive.

The tools of the experimental psychologist are mutilation, castration, agony, starvation, and insanity. Animals are given intense, repeated electric shocks which they cannot escape, until they lose the will or ability to even scream in pain any longer; they are deprived of food and water to suffer and die slowly from hunger and thirst; they are put in total isolation chambers until they are driven insane, or even die, from despair and terror; they are subjected to crushing forces which smash their bones and rupture their internal organs; their limbs are mutilated or amputated to produce behavioral changes; they are the victims of extreme pain and stress, inflicted upon them out of idle curiosity, in nightmarish experiments designed to make healthy animals psychotic. And in virtually all these procedures, the helpless, terrified creatures are fully conscious, aware, and unanesthetized.

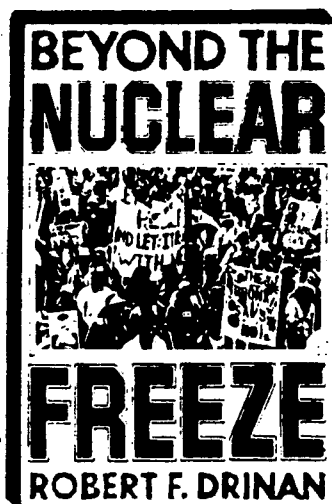
Experimental psychology has made sacraments of needless repetition and unjustifiable suffering. And in all this gallery of horror and torture for profit, there is little evidence to indicate that a single animal experiment in this field has ever been of benefit to humans.

Most psychologists, and their professional organizations, which should be at the forefront of efforts to ease stress and end suffering, have completely refused to address ethical concerns or require compassionate behavior, except for vapid and meaningless "guidelines". Beginning in the fall of 1983, and continuing through the year, Mobilization for Animals will encourage small, decentralized actions at psychology laboratories throughout the world, culminating in a massive, international mobilization at the annual convention of the American Psychological Association in Toronto, Canada, on August 24-28, 1984.



The new book by ADA's president:

To get a copy, send \$7.95, plus \$1.50 for handling, to Drinan Book, ADA, 1411 K Street NW—Suite 850, Washington, D.C. 20005. Make check or money order payable to ADA.



The World Future Society holds a conference on "Working Now and in the Future" on August 11-12 at the Hyatt Regency Hotel in DC. Topics will include robotics, retirement, office automation, unemployment, and survival in the new economy. Info: Work Conference, World Future Society, 4916 St. Elmo Ave., Bethesda, Md. 20814.

The ACLU Biennial Conference takes place at Mt. Vernon College in DC on June 18-21. Info: 544-1076.

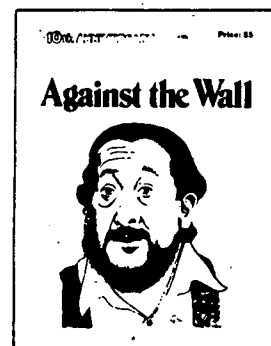
The only public interest law firm in the country that specializes in protecting the rights of lesbians has published a manual for attorneys who represent lesbians in child custody cases. The manual is

available for \$25 from the Lesbian Rights Project, 1370 Mission, 4th floor, San Francisco, CA 94103

Nuclear Free America is a clearinghouse for Nuclear Free Zones, which have been established by a number of communities around the country. NFA puts out a newsletter called the 'New Abolitionist.' Write NFA, 2521 Guilford Ave. Baltimore Md. 301-633-8478.

The new 1983 edition of the Progressive Periodicals Directory has recently been published. It includes comprehensive bibliographical information on 380 national magazines, newspapers and news-

If you've seen one



you haven't seen them all

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letters concerned with social justice and a better Earth. The listings are grouped in categories such as children, culture, environment, farms, health, international concerns, labor, peace and religious.

The U.S. Progressive Periodicals Directory may be ordered for \$4., and the Southern edition for only \$2. Both directories together are only \$5. post-paid. They may be obtained from Progressive Education, Box 120574, Nashville, TN 37212.

"The Rights of Women," a handbook published a decade ago by the American Civil Liberties Union, has recently been updated and expanded. The 406-page handbook surveys the change in women's rights in such areas as education, employment, mass media and reproductive freedom, and lists more than one hundred women's organizations that provide help for victims of sex discrimination. The handbook, which costs \$3.95, is available

from the literature department of the Civil Liberties Union, 132 West 43rd Street, New York, NY 10036, (212) 944-9800.

There will be a two-week study seminar in Israel this August 7th through 21st, co-sponsored by the Mordechai Anielewicz Circle of Americans for Progressive Israel and the Chicago Friends of Peace Now.

This seminar will be an opportunity to meet with *Shalom Achshav* ("Peace Now") activists, community organizers, Kibbutznikim, trade-unionists, members of Mapam and other opposition parties of the Knesset, and many more people who are working for peace and progress within Israeli society and between Israel and its many neighbors in the region. Participants in this program will visit various activists working "in the field" on projects

of cooperation between Jewish and Arab citizens of Israel, and will travel across the country during their two-week seminar.

This program is receiving the support of many organizations, including the Kibbutz Artzi Federation, the International Relations Department of the Histadrut (General Federation of Labour in Israel) and the Dor Hemshech program of the World Zionist Organization, as well as the World Union of Mapam and other bodies. As a result, the total cost for the program, including round-trip airfare from New York City, is \$950. Participants can arrange to extend their ticket. Interested individuals in the U.S. and Canada between 20 and 35 years of age should contact:

Mordechai Anielewicz Circle of API
150 Fifth Avenue — Suite 1002
New York, New York 10011
(212) 989-2661



THE RIGHT TO SHELTER

MARY ELLEN LEARY

The mass homelessness that has been the most visible evidence of the recession has produced a surprising new public impetus for an idea that a few years ago might have been thought radical—a basic American right to shelter.

The depression of the 30s led to a widespread recognition that this country, even in bad times, must guarantee everyone's entitlement to subsistence. Social changes in later years led to pensions for the elderly and medical care guaranteed for them and for the poor. Now a theory long championed by sociologists and advocates for the poor has suddenly gained similar acceptance: The notion that everyone should be entitled to at least minimum shelter. To a growing segment of the public, recently acquainted with the reality that an estimated two million homeless people are sleeping nights bundled up in their automobiles or turning to churches to escape the storms and cold, such an entitlement seems reasonable.

It is a wry quirk of fate that this concept has gained credence at the very time some politicians are seeking to cut back "entitlements." It suggests rough going for the new "shelter" advocates. But several strong supporters insist that public support for a housing entitlement is growing fast.

The principle has already been translated into law in New York, where a prolonged lawsuit asserting a shelter "entitlement" resulted in an agreement from both city and state. Together these governments put some \$37 million in recent

months into providing basic, bare shelter for 4,700 people, with cots, blankets and breakfast coffee. This is in addition to quarters provided by private charity.

Now, Robert Hayes, the New York City attorney who forged this first step, is bringing his National Coalition for the Homeless to Washington, to join other organizations, such as the National Low Income Housing Coalition, in pressing for housing law improvements.

"This winter's homelessness is the worst this country has seen in 50 years and all signs point to more such winters to come," says Hayes. "We are convinced that minimum decent shelter for everybody is a right which has public acceptance. But if the total solution rests with private charity there will be a lot of corpses in the streets. It is just too big a problem."

Cushing Dolbeare, director of the National Low Income Housing Coalition in Washington, warns that "The homeless are just the tip of the iceberg. Their number is a small fraction of all the people in dire need of housing." Dolbeare is impressed that the National Heritage Foundation, in its just issued "Agenda '83" also concludes that shelter can properly be termed an entitlement. "This idea is gaining along a broad horizon of different viewpoints," she said. "But winning acceptance in Washington won't be achieved overnight or even over a few years."

Two levels of housing help are being sought before Congress: an emergency fund to bolster temporary shelter programs, and a drive to enlarge public housing, in part through more rent subsidies and in part through stimulants to private industry to insure that the poor are included as new construction revives.

So far, news that U.S. housing starts are beginning to mount does not have much relevance for the poor. In every city, low-cost quarters have dwindled as landlords have spruced them up to serve middle-income renters. Thousands of units

once available to the poorest have been removed from the supply. Hence, tax encouragement or other carrot-stick enticements will be needed to increase housing for the poor in the new construction.

The earliest action is likely on the emergency shelter program. At hearings conducted by Rep. Henry Gonzalez (D-Tex) of the House Banking and Urban Affairs Committee, testimony indicated that communities across the country are simply overwhelmed by the pressure of numbers. Many cities, aware of the permanent nature of the problem, now are providing up to a full month of shelter for needy families.

Said Jerry McMurray, staff assistant to Rep. Gonzalez, "Great work, heroic work has been done. But things out there are held together by the thinnest of strings. It is sheer survival."

In December, Congress passed a \$50 million aid bill for the homeless, but the measure got lost in budget wrangling and never went to the President. Efforts now are to increase this sum, perhaps to \$250 million. Meanwhile, the federal government is planning to make available to cities and states more surplus food and vacant government buildings that could be converted to shelters.

In the 1984 budget, the Reagan Administration says it has added about 90,000 to those who will get housing subsidies. But Dolbeare, following budget developments closely, claims the cancellation of other housing benefits far off-sets this generosity. "The administration is proposing on one hand \$515 million in housing assistance," she said, "but on the other hand it is rescinding some \$2.8 billion in low income housing help. We are falling \$2.3 billion behind, just when housing need is so critical."

Aggravating the crisis is the expectation that unemployment is likely to stay high. Already, the rate of foreclosures on the homes of people who thought of themselves as comfortable and established is staggering, according to Berkeley,

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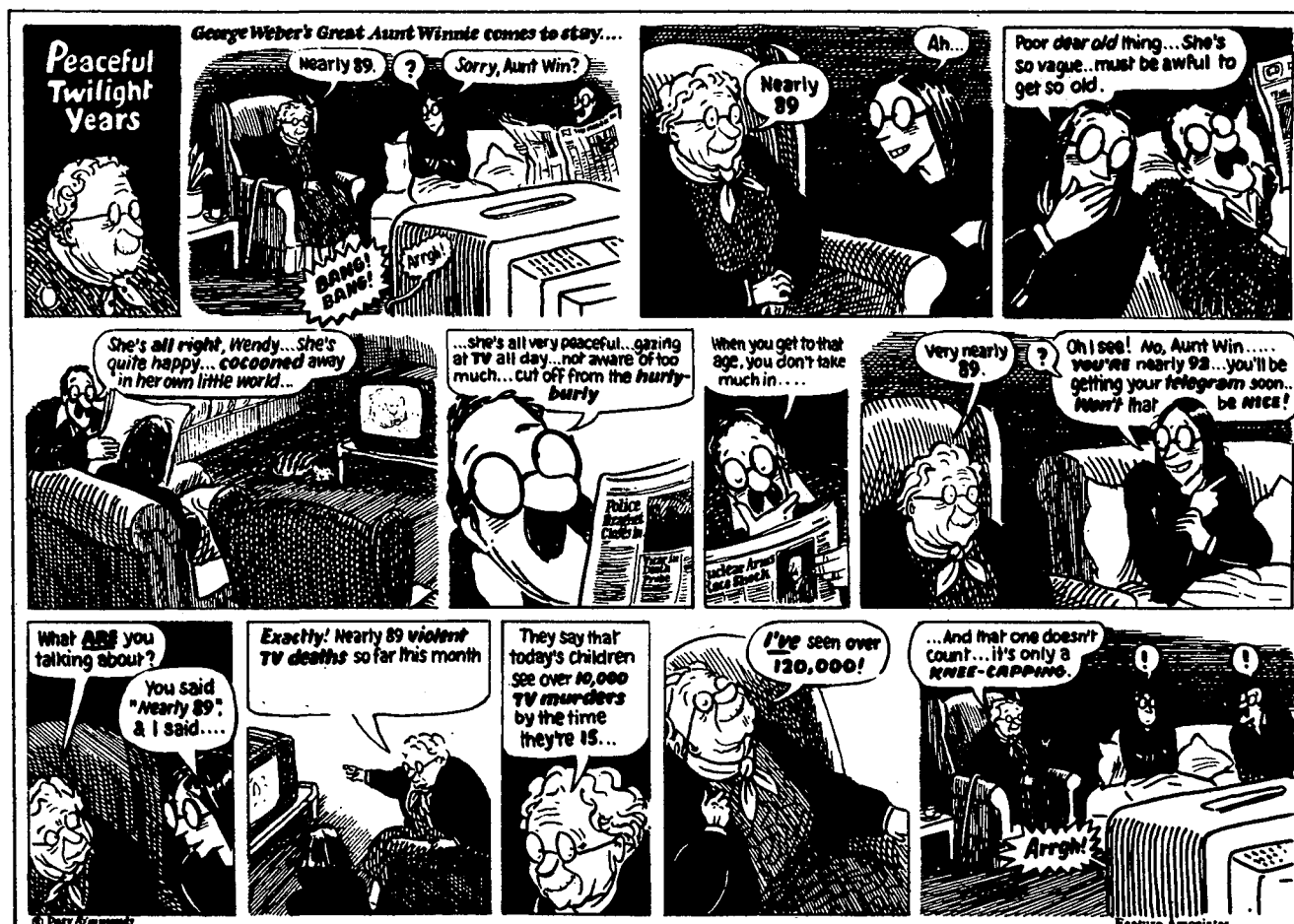
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MRS. WEBER DIARY



Calif., attorney David Madway, long associated with the National Housing Law Project.

"There has always been a significant but uncounted block of people who float around without permanent housing," he said. "Now, on top of this, we have a temporarily displaced middle-class, their homes being foreclosed or their rent payments greater than unemployment checks can cover. They are out on the streets, looking desperately for work.

"This situation," said Madway, "suggests we are nearing the time when the public will endorse the idea that in this country, the richest nation in the world, everybody should be entitled to shelter."

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THE DREAM WEAVER

JONATHAN ROWE

The Sunday after Mr. Reagan made his pitch for space laser defense, the Weighty Commentators were holding forth in the Post. Defense Undersecretary Fred Ikle erected a straw man of hostility-forever hardliners to make his boss, the President, sound like Mother Teresa by comparison. Carter's

Corporation \$\$ and Elections

The Athens Lumber Co. of Athens, Georgia, is suing the Federal Election Commission, challenging—for the first time in history—the constitutionality of the ban on corporate contributions in federal elections.

ADA—joined by the NAACP, NOW, LULAC, the Children's Defense Fund, Public Citizen, and the National Council of Senior Citizens—has filed an amicus brief in support of the ban. □

—ADA World

Defense Secretary Harold Brown raised questions about feasibility and expense, pooping the party like the MIT professor he once was.

A few days later, James J. Kilpatrick weighed in, matching the liberals grump for burp as is his wont. Mr. Reagan, he declared, is a visionary, a statesman, and things like that.

It was interesting. But it pretty much missed the point. The President was not making a serious proposal about defense. He was doing what he does best, taking a flying leap right past his opponents, conjuring a fantasy to reclaim his hold upon the debate and upon ourselves. To weigh his proposal on its merits was sort of like arguing over the truth of a shampoo ad or whether Vantage cigarettes really are a "rich reward."

For once, a Reagan leap fell flat. Still, it brought out in bold relief something we need to see about the man. Forget the feasibility and expense. Forget the obvious unlikelihood of the Russians letting us get such a jump on them without endeavoring to do us one better. There's something much more important going on here.

For most of his adult life, Mr. Reagan's business has been the making of impressions. He succeeded or failed according to his ability to get us to suspend rational judgment, to believe in something that wasn't really there. Whether he was narrating an imaginary baseball game on Iowa radio, or creating a character in a grade B movie, the endeavor was essentially the same.

Rarely did he have to account tomorrow for what he said today. At General Electric, progress may have been the most important product, but the actual products, the irons and toasters, were made and fixed by others. When he played a movie role, he did not have to explain later why events had not come about the way that character had said. When the curtain fell, that was it. There was no continuity between the impression and events in your life and mine.

Now Mr. Reagan is our President, and his inclinations seem pretty much the same. As the policies and pronouncements, so the man. Fantasy, it seems, is the connecting thread.

His economic program, for example, was a nursery rhyme. The Big Bad Wolf was government, its taxes and spending and regulations the demons lurking in our woods. Undo this naughtiness, and Little Red Riding Hood would arrive safely home to Mother. There would be joy and prosperity for all.

It was that simple. Told in the President's bedside manner, it was not so much convincing as enchanting. Like an effective t.v. advertisement, it slipped right past America's cognitive defenses, touched chords his opponents had lost the ability to

reach long ago. He literally left them sputtering in the lurch.

And that was just the beginning. Next came the New Federalism. No mere shuffling of government functions here. Through a few bold budgetary strokes, we were going to summon back the halcyon days of Jefferson—Wall Street, the Federal Reserve, robots and El Salvador notwithstanding. Jefferson himself had warned us against such things as central banks and moneyed power, standing armies, and "entangling alliances." Mere details.

There was the proposal to put America back to work by suggesting that every business hire one person. It was a charming and even worthy sentiment for the kind of world in which most Americans no longer find themselves. But that's just another detail. There was the Red Scare speech to the

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evangelists in Florida, pumping them to a torrid pitch with the spectre of mortal combat between Communism and Freedom, good and evil. (Funny, isn't it, how such people always talk about "Communist" troops and forces, but never about "Capitalist" ones?)

We may be feeding those evil Commies, plying them with technology and Pepsi, building their truck factories, propping up their satellite states with loans. The Third World may view us both, increasingly, as simply two sides of the same dangerous coin. Details again. Will you please be quiet and enjoy the show?

Enter the Reagan solution to nuclear war. There is nothing wrong with imagination. To the contrary, we need it in our public life much more. Economics in particular has become a sterile wasteland of numbers and mechanical logic. It could use a heavy dose of inspiration and myth, and up to that point, I'm with the President completely.

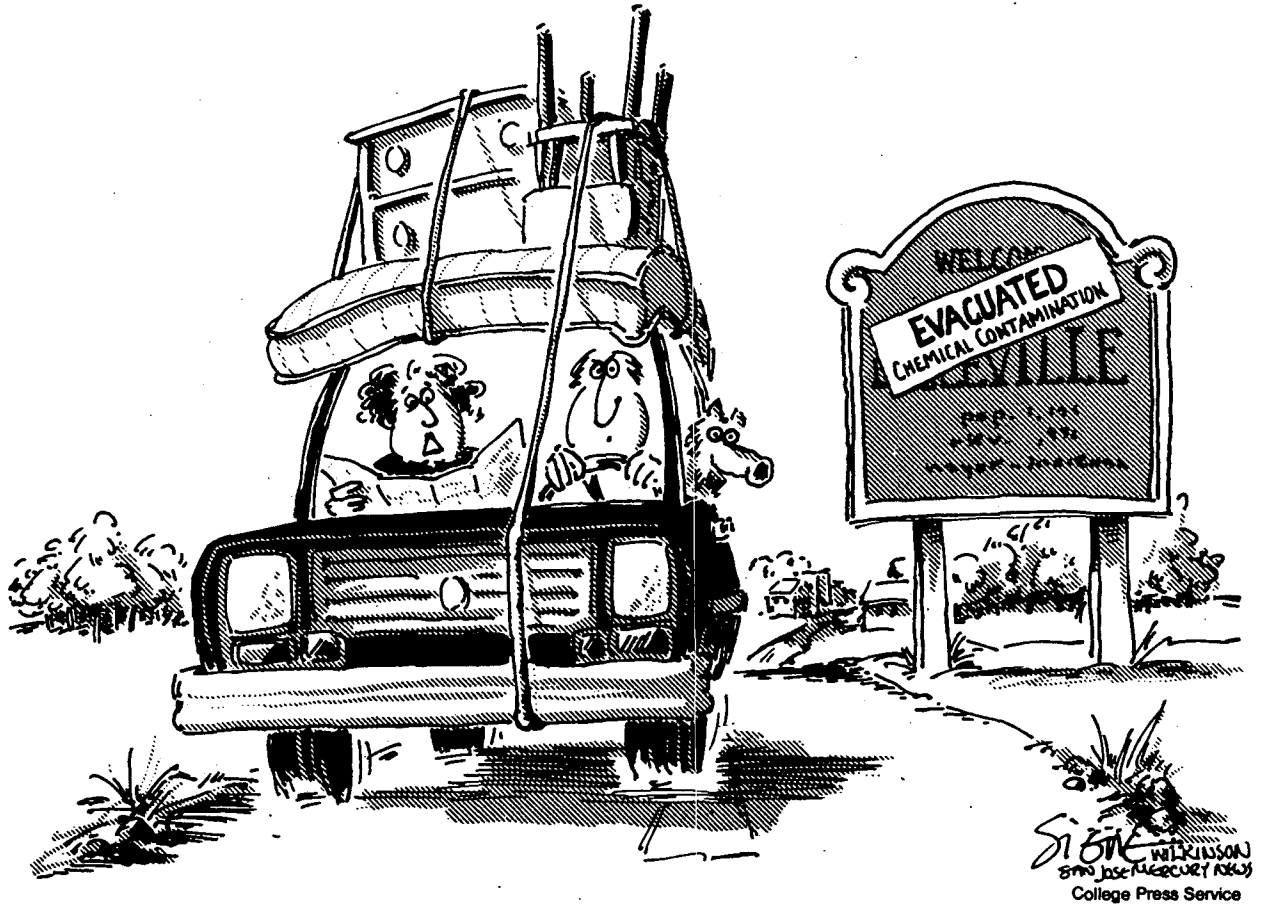
There is a very big difference, however, between myth and fantasy, between evocation and escape. It's the difference between a leader, and a weaver of pretty dreams. There is about Mr. Reagan the aroma of a man whose instinct in a tight spot is to spin a little blarney and hope all the trouble just goes away.

Sometimes it seems to be Mr. Reagan himself who goes away. His ability to distance himself from troubles rivals that of my craftiest grade-school companions. Two years into his economic program, the bad news was still the Democrats' fault. There is a story told by White House aides—I don't know whether it really happened—of a cabinet meeting during Reagan's term as California Governor. The problem at hand was thorny, none of the alternatives were pleasant, and the debate was tense. Suddenly, at five o'clock, Nancy appeared and tapped the Governor on the shoulder. Exiting in Nancy's tow, Mr. Reagan paused at the door and gave his good-natured, helpless shrug. "Can't you fellows work this one out?" he asked.

The messiness and details don't just go away. But most Americans can't help liking the man anyway. The pundits are scratching their chins over the seeming paradox in the polls, that the voters continue to support Mr. Reagan even though they don't think he's doing a very good job. But it makes perfect sense. Being liked is the man's consummate art. It's almost as though there were two separate presences—a Chief Executive who's not awfully competent, and good ol' President Reagan whom we know and love.

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"ON THE BRIGHT SIDE, IT'S GOOD PRACTICE FOR NUCLEAR WAR."

To be fair, the man can only play to what is in us already. One of our deepest national fantasies is that we can get eternally better without changing, that on the path to heaven no form of death is found. Mr. Reagan knows this one in his bones. Neither his Mother Goose economics, nor his Star Wars defense, expects a thing of us—no inconvenience, no change. The high-techies and the magic of the marketplace will do it all for us. We just have to go on being the "great and good Americans" that we Americans have always been.

Nobody ever lost a vote by telling people how great and good they are, how nothing is their own fault, how there is nothing difficult or unpleasant to do or even think about.

Why, even the victims of his policies are going to come out ahead. The laser gambit could double our defense outlays and compel still more cuts in other areas? Don't you worry, dears. Now that we have given working folks—those that still have jobs—a few extra dollars a week in tax cut "stimulus," the magic of the marketplace is going to elicit such an outpouring of endeavor by us great and good Americans that, by gosh and golly, its all going to pay for itself.

There's simply no bad news for anyone, except those nasty wolves in the woods. Even the laser bit

performed the neat trick of dangling catnip before the defense contractors and techies while trumping—in theory at least—the nuclear freeze crowd.

Don't get me wrong. I like Mr. Reagan. He's one of the few politicians on the national scene that I'd really like to have over and hear his reminiscences about the old Hollywood days.

If I were six years old, I'd like the President even more, and that's the point. He'd make a wonderful uncle, telling you stories, bouncing you on his knee. But *President*? That's something else.

The years ahead are going to require some pretty significant changes. We did have a President who had an inkling of this. But where Mr. Reagan warms and charms us, James Earl Carter had a peculiar ability to chill, to make moralistic and prosaic subjects on which he should have taken flight.

Is it possible that in each of these men we sensed something that we needed? Carter, the clear cold eye and grasp of detail. Reagan, the spellmeister who goes right to our hearts. Will a leader emerge who combines the two? That may be too much to ask. Then again, it may be a prospect so dangerous as to be avoided at all costs.

EUGENE MCCARTHY

The candidates are divided on some issues. One is for two small aircraft carriers, rather than one large one. Another is for mobile missiles, but not of the size of the controversial MX. One is for free trade, others for protective tariffs, or protection of American industry by some means. Some are for high-technology industry (which makes more and more workers unnecessary), others are for subsidies to employers who will hire more workers to compete with high technology. So the differences run, but on one point all seem to be agreed: soon after election, the candidates are promising, that they will go at least half-way to see the Russians.

This going places even before sworn in as President was started by Dwight Eisenhower in 1952. When he said that if elected, he would go to Korea. He did go, after he was elected, and before he was sworn in as President.

Lyndon Johnson, as President said he would meet with the North Vietnamese, any time on a

neutral ship in a neutral sea. When he left office, he had not yet found, or gone to, the neutral ship in the neutral sea.

As a candidate George McGovern was quoted as saying he would crawl, as I remember, to Hanoi, if assured that peace would result. This offer was not well received by the American electorate.

Candidate Walter Mondale, was the first to speak of travel plans. He said that immediately on being elected he would get on the hot-line to Moscow, and offer to meet the head of the Russian government in Geneva, to discuss disarmament and improved relations between the United States and Russia. He added, as an additional reason for electing him, that he knew where the telephone was. This seemed reassuring, unless President Reagan has had the telephone moved, in which case Mr. Mondale, if elected, might go looking for the phone where it had been during the Carter administration.

Candidate Gary Hart has said that if elected he would also go to Geneva. He does not mention any earlier telephone calls from the White House. Possibly he intends to go there and advise the Kremlin that he is waiting.

John Glenn might well offer to meet Andropov in orbit, in the manner in which Russian and American astronauts did link space vehicles. In that rarified atmosphere, and at that speed, with the world visible below, negotiations might be more fruitful than in Geneva with the limited vistas that city offers.

Senator Cranston has not offered to travel, to meet with the Russians, although he has challenged any of his presidential nomination opponents to jog with him, or hike, carrying, as I recall, a backpack weighing 50 pounds. He might make a similar offer to the head of the Russian state, with the meeting to take place, with television coverage, on a neutral track in a neutral country.

My suggestion to a newly elected President is that he first go to the Pentagon, honoring a campaign statement such as: "If elected I will go to the Pentagon." Then he could check up on war plans, new weapons on the drawing board, contingency plans, possibly for world domination, and other things, involving the military industrial complex.

CHUCK STONE

BURSTING PRISONS

Topsy's impish rationale for being on earth—"I spect I grow'd"—is about as good as any to explain why the U.S. prison population is bursting at its penal seams.

State prisoners are up 12.1 percent over 1981.

Federal prisons are 24 percent over capacity.

And the crime rate was declining 4 percent during the same period, the second straight year with no increase.

So why have prison populations "grow'd" faster than springtime tulips?

The same demographics are trotted out for the two conflicting trends.

Explains the U.S. Justice Department, the prison population is increasing because a record number of males are between 20 and 29 and most of the crimes are committed by that age group.

Counters another criminal expert, the crime rate is stabilizing and going down because of a "diminution in the number of people between the ages 15 and 24."

Back to square one.

Yet overcrowded prisons don't exist in a vacuum.

In the last three years, 37 states have passed mandatory jail sentences. Ten other states have done away with parole altogether. And the U.S. Supreme Court has made it possible for a prison to jam as many people into a cell as it wants.

Behind this new national meanness of "lock 'em up and throw away the key," judges are being spurred to hand down longer and tougher sentences.

Juries are composed of people who have been victimized or whose neighbors and friends have become victims.

Admittedly, the public will respond more eagerly to Reagan's proposed \$94 million for more prison beds than to Attorney General William French Smith's surprisingly enlightened alternatives to incarceration for non-violent criminals.

Even a law-and-order Reaganaut can recognize the inconsistency of spending \$10,000 a year to subsidize a \$3.87 credit card theft for three years.

Who cares, voters shrug. "Build more prisons!"

The clamor swells until the site committee arrives. Then a quiet is spawned by what Federal Prison System Director Norman A. Carlson calls "the NIMBY factor" (Not In My Back Yard).

But building more and more prisons still leaves two questions hanging:

1.) Why do some states have higher incarceration rates than others?

2.) Why do some states have such a small correlation between the number of crimes committed and the number of criminals sent to prison?

That gap has shocking implications.

It was further reinforced by William G. Nagel, president of the Institute of Corrections of the American Foundation.

In a study titled, "On Behalf of a Moratorium on Prison Construction," Nagel isolated 10 variables that can account for incarceration rates (poverty income, unemployment rate, per capita income, black population, etc.).

His report found a.) Almost no relationship between a state's crime rate and its incarceration rate; and b.) Most of the states with the largest prison populations are in the South or near South.

For example, of the 10 states with the most inmates, seven are in the Deep South.

But their crime rates—with the exception of Florida—ranked them between 21st and 44th.

Nagel didn't find any significant correlation between a state's racial makeup and its crime rate, but "there is a very . . . positive relationship between its racial composition and its incarceration rate."

In short, blacks get locked up much quicker than whites.

That discrepancy would easily be explained by a higher black crime rate, except that even the black incarceration rate greatly exceeds the black crime rate.

Also, states with a high percentage of poor people have a high incarceration rate—and surprisingly, a low crime rate.

Poor people, like blacks, are shafted by unequal justice in America.

Concluded Nagel, "Prison construction policy has very little to do with crime rates."

But if we stop building more prisons, what do we do with all of those criminals?

A slow, but persistently growing body of criminologists, legislators, lawyers and civic leaders is urging options to relieve prison overcrowding.

The Edna McConnell Clark Foundation of New York City has just published an authoritative pamphlet, "Overcrowded Time: Why Prisons Are So Crowded and What Can Be Done."

Another national expert, M. Kay Harris, currently teaching at Temple, argues persuasively for three categories of options: those affecting who goes to prison, those affecting the length of stay and those affecting the system's capacity.

Her approach would require a finely tuned coordination among legislatures, governors, defense attorneys, the courts, departments of corrections, parole and probation commissions and social welfare agencies.

But all of this is too complicated to digest.

It's easier to understand that the five states with the largest state prison systems—California, Texas, Florida, Ohio and New York—also "grow'd" with the largest increases in inmates for 1982.

One of these days, the public will take that next step and ask: Why?

When that happens, we may get beyond the simplistic solution of throwing up more prisons, even when they have no relationship to the crime rate or the quality of justice.

Phila. Daily News

AMERICAN JOURNAL

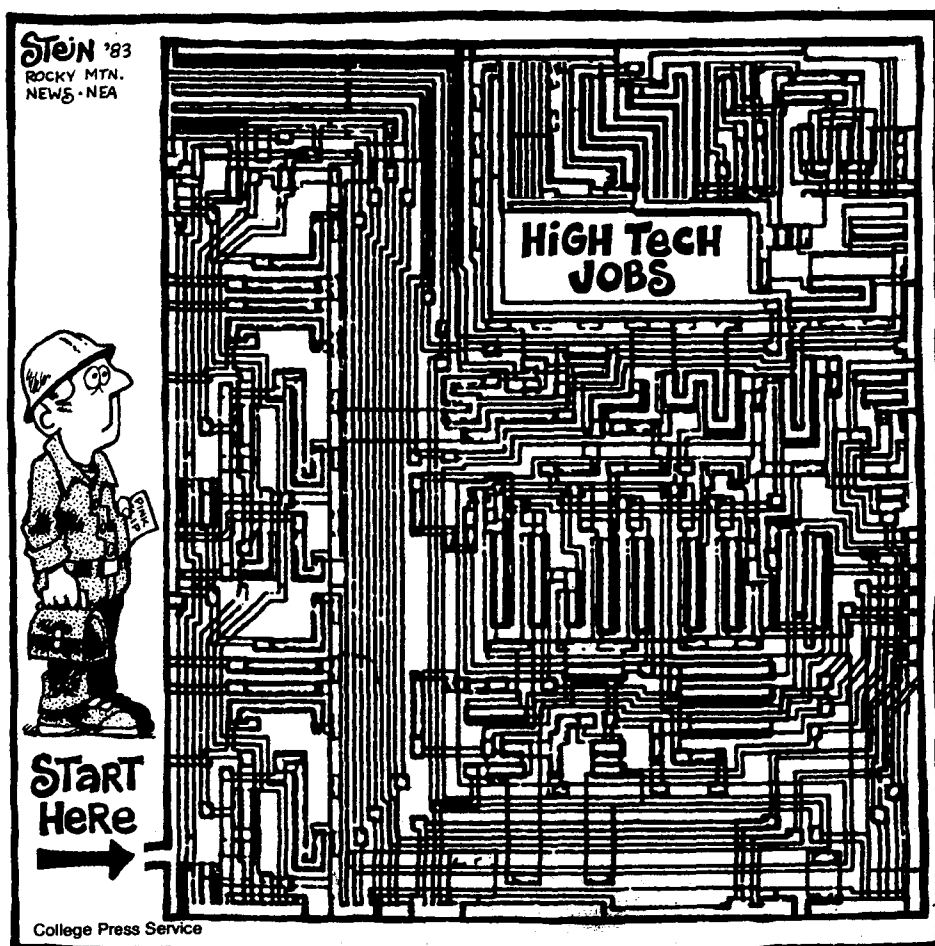
DAVID ARMSTRONG

I got a check from the United States government the other day. No, it wasn't an income tax return. The check was for much less than most tax returns, but it meant much more to me. It was a refund of the \$10 bail I paid on May 3, 1971, when I was arrested in Washington, D.C. during a massive antiwar demonstration. Some 14,000 other protesters were arrested on May 3 and May 4 of that year in a dragnet that has since been ruled illegal by the courts.

Uncle Sam has shelled out three million dollars in damages to persons arrested during the Mayday demonstrations. More importantly, the federal government was directed to expunge the arrest records of all 14,000 arrestees, the result of a lawsuit called *Sullivan v. Murphy*. The suit was pressed by the American Civil Liberties Union, which continues to administer two related suits, 12 years after the Mayday demo.

Mayday was a mass exercise in civil disobedience held in the nation's capital by a coalition of antiwar groups. Staged the weekend after May 1—the traditional spring holiday and international labor day—the event was named after the international code-word for distress.

The symbolism was appropriate. The Vietnam war was near its brutal nadir and Richard Nixon was entrenched in power. Nixon, who had talked football to stunned college students just after the Kent and Jackson State shootings the previous spring, hid in a White House ringed with buses to



keep protesters away. The Nixon Justice Department responded to the prospect of thousands of citizens blocking bridges and clogging streets—to jam the levers of the war machine, as we saw it—by ordering the arrest of everyone in sight.

My arrest was probably fairly typical. A D.C. cop simply drove up to the group I was huddling with on a Georgetown sidewalk, picked me out for no apparent reason and picked me up for the paddy-wagon. I hadn't had time to violate any laws, though I had decided to commit nonviolent civil disobedience as a political statement. Some of the arrestees hadn't even done that. They were arrested for being young and on the streets of Washington on a politically charged day. In that atmosphere, youth itself became a crime.

As he held me for the wagon, "my" arresting officer—who was hip and black and spoke a combination of law enforcement jargon and street jive—bragged that he smoked marijuana, held no brief for Nixon and didn't give a damn for the war, either. But he wasn't going to let anybody put a dent in his car or jam "his" streets. Later, I watched as he kneed several nearly-prone protesters in the back, just for the hell of it. He was, he explained, just doing his job.

I don't know where that officer is today—nor most of my fellow jailbirds, for that matter. Neither does the ACLU, which has put out a call for other members of the Mayday 14,000 to come forward to clear their records and collect their refunds. The ACLU is also pursuing another lawsuit, *McCarthy v. Kleindienst*, before the U.S. Court of Appeals. If the suit is successful, further damages may be assessed against the government. A decision is expected in about a year.

In a third case, *Dellums v. Powell*, protesters arrested on the Capitol steps on May 5 were awarded damages somewhat more substantial than my ten-spot. Taken together, says the ACLU's Mayday

Coordinator Martin McCaffery, "The Mayday cases have established important new civil liberties law... We think that it was well worth the enormous effort and expense that it cost us, and we believe those cases leave us in a better position to protect the rights of Americans in the nation's capital as we move through the 1980s."

Given that the ACLU has carried these cases free of charge for a dozen years, I'm signing over my check to the organization. It's a small repayment for the limited but important victories for the right to dissent. Those victories, not the checks belatedly arriving in the mail, are the real dividends of that day 12 tumultuous years ago.

(The American Civil Liberties Union Fund of the National Capital Area can be contacted at 600 Pennsylvania Ave., S.E./Suite 301, Washington, D.C. 20003. Telephone 202-544-1076.)

BALANCING ACTS

TIM FRASCA

One Thursday at dusk during the April rainy season, several hundred lords and ladies of semi-official Washington gathered in the auditorium of Georgetown University's Intercultural Center to observe a bevy of semi-official Washington journalists congratulating each other. The occasion was

the awarding of the Teddy Weintal Prize for Diplomatic Reporting to William Beecher of the BOSTON GLOBE and Andrew Stern, head of the graduate broadcast journalism program at the University of California-Berkeley and an independent producer for the Public Broadcasting System.

The judges were Marvin Kalb of NBC News, arch and jocular at the podium, and the prissily dignified Hugh Sidney of TIME. School of Foreign Service Dean Peter Krogh grinned idiotically throughout. Next to Krogh, the keynote speaker smiled rarely, neglected the thick dandruff on his shoulders, and lumbered toward the podium with a sort of grey heaviness reminiscent of Leonid Brezhnev, looking generally bored to bloody death. This personage was none other than CIA Director William Casey.

Georgetown University is not known for any embarrassment over its practice of openly consorting with the Central Intelligence Agency, which is that institution's business. But there was a time when our hoary guardians of the fourth estate would have shrunk back, if not in moral horror, at least for fear of their own teenagers. Sidney acknowledged as much when introducing Beecher as a veteran of seven years in a top Pentagon perch: "Years ago we used to think it impossible for a dedicated journalist to consort with the adversary, to actually join the government, and then return to the media world with his chemical purity still intact. We are much wiser now. We see that a term in government ranks can bring new insight, deeper understanding, and yes, even more sympathy about our singular method of running this nation."

The Weintal prizes are now eight years old, having been endowed by the late Polish-born diplomat and journalist Teddy Weintal, once a collegial *bon vivant* of the same nobles who emerged from their N Street townhouses and Langley cubicles for the high-collar April 13th affair. Winners receive the

LIFE & RELATED SUBJECTS

Dave Barry

A distinguished, high-level, blue-ribbon federal panel of people wearing suits recently released a report concluding that (and here I quote directly): "The American public-education system has done just about as good a job of educating the nation's children as might be expected from a bucket of live bait." The report presented some shocking statistics to support this finding:

- For the past 11 years, American students have scored lower on standardized tests than European students, Japanese students and certain species of elk;
- 78 percent of America's school principals have, at some point in their careers, worn white belts or shoes to school;
- Nobody in the entire United States remembers the exact date of the signing of the Treaty of Ghent.

The bottom line is that the educational system, which costs over \$200 billion a year, is an unmitigated disaster. This is good news for everybody. It's good news for those of us who went to high school back when the schools were supposed to be better, because we can feel superior to today's students. When we go to shopping malls and see batches of teenagers standing around and laughing in a carefree teenaged manner, we can reassure ourselves by saying: "Those kids may be attractive and slim and healthy, and they may have their entire lives ahead of them and no gum problems whatsoever, but by God they never learned how to conjugate the verb 'to squat' in Latin, the way I had to when I was in school."

The panel's report is also good news for the kids, because it confirms their suspicion that they wouldn't have learned anything even if they had been paying attention in class instead of trying to see who could most accurately guess how large, in square inches, the sweat stain under the teacher's left armpit would be by the time the bell rang.

But most of all, the panel's report is good news for the teachers, school administrators and other members of the American educational establishment, because as the people most responsible for screwing up the educational system in the first place, they will naturally expect to be given a great deal more money to fix it.

So everybody is pleased as punch to have blue-ribbon federal proof that the school system stinks on ice, and everybody is busy coming up with helpful suggestions for making the schools good again, the way they were when they were turning out real geniuses like the people who are making the suggestions. For example, President Reagan checked in from the planet Saturn with the suggestion that we need to go back to voluntary prayer in the schools. Now I think we can all agree that making our children pray voluntarily will certainly help, but we need to do more. We need to get Back to the Basics, back to the kinds of learning activities you and I engaged in.

For example, every student in the country should be required to read "Ethan Frome" unless he or she has a written doctor's excuse. As you no doubt vaguely recall, "Ethan Frome" is a book you had to read when you studied early American novels because it turns out there were hardly any good early American novels. As I remember the plot, Ethan Frome falls in love with this woman, so they decide to crash into a tree on a sled. The sled crash is the only good part, and it lasts only about a page. But the way I look at it, if I had to read "Ethan Frome," I don't see why these little snots today should get out of it.

They should also be forced to disassemble frogs, the way we did in biology. Remember? You'd slice your frog up with a razor and root around inside, looking for the heart and the kidney and the other frog organs that were clearly drawn in several colors in the biology textbook, until eventually you realized that you must have been issued a defective frog, because all you could ever find inside was frog glop. So you just poked at the glop for a while and then drew the heart, etc., from the biology textbook. This taught you about life. When I was in school, I also had to do a worm, although I'm not suggesting that all of today's students should have to do worms. Maybe just the really disruptive ones.

So that's my back-to-basics program: "Ethan Frome," frogs, and maybe some class discussion of the cosine. And any kid who doesn't know the exact date of the signing of the Treaty of Ghent (December 24, 1814) will be held back for another year, or, if the Russians appear to be getting ahead of us in space again, shot.

[Feature Associates]

smart sum of \$2500, which partly makes up for the distinction's waning credibility.

Casey himself was fairly predictable, raising what he considered worthy news efforts like the yellow rain allegations and the bizarre Pope Plot, criticizing a perceived bias against valued allies like El Salvador, but generally endorsing the new mood of "fairness" which is replacing the bad old "sensationalism." He did forget himself at one moment, however, when he let slip the proper strategy for winning next year's prize. Denouncing Cuba for its alleged aim "to fill up the United States with drugs," Casey continued: "The connection between the narcotics trade, terrorism and destabilization of governments, and the organization and support of insurgencies is a story which can bring a Weintal Prize or a Pulitzer Prize or both."

Lucky winners of Weintal scholarships included an ROTC student and a Peace Corps veteran who helps edit the Arabic version of READERS DIGEST.

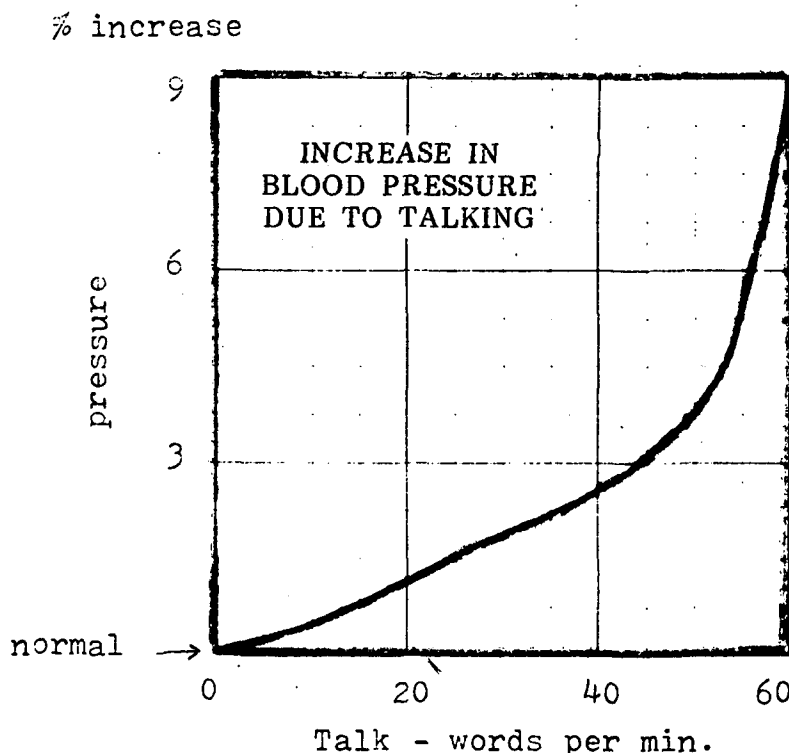
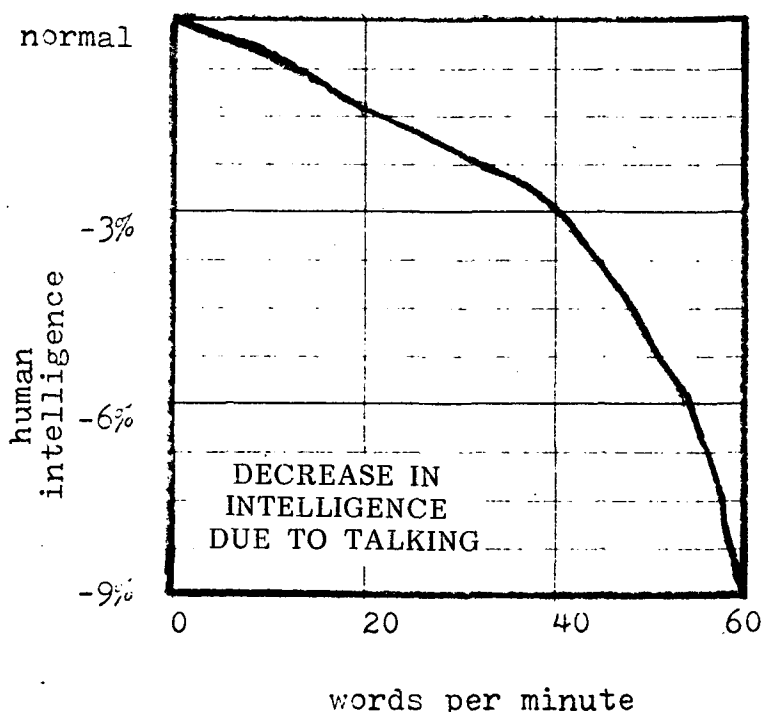
INCREASING HUMAN INTELLIGENCE

RISTO MARTTINEN

The Problem

The question whether politicians are less intelligent than the average citizen has again surfaced. Although humorists such as Mark Twain, Will Rogers and Art Buchwald think so, there is no scientific evidence to support this. But the question is important not for its cynical humor as much as for its scientific possibilities—long ago it was realized the important question is not who is more intelligent but how can intelligence be increased (or decreased).

Turn-of-the-century German experiments revealed no practical technique for increasing human intelligence. These were based on testing superstitions such as fish diets, sleeping well, memorizing Goethe, etc. Later, Soviet efforts to develop a "New Soviet man" proved equally inconclusive. It was not until the attainment of extended weightlessness that a breakthrough was again anticipated: there was a belief, oddly medieval, held by some in the space program, that "weighty" thoughts might be lightened by weightlessness. Naturally, the theory proved groundless. A new clue to the question of intelligence variation finally emerged from an unexpected source—American University speech laboratories. It centered on the ancient concept that the greater the volume of speech, the less the intelligence of the speaker. Thus, an increase in talkativeness was taken to indicate a measurable drop in intelligence, just as it caused an increase in blood pressure. Laboratory testing was begun to corrob-



orate the hypothesis. Once the problem was focused, Princeton, the Army, and research foundations went to work. The discovery of a new science seemed at hand.

The Search

A search was started in 1975 using sophisticated mapping techniques to find where in the US the highest concentration of rapid, empty speech was centered [Preliminary findings indicated that the average American speaks up to 8,000 words per day with bursts of 16,000 not uncommon (hyperverbalization).] A consortium of laboratories and research institutions solidified their participation in the search by sending observers. Then suddenly, an emergency meeting of all the heads of the laboratories was called. The search had narrowed to one spot in the US and a feeling of general alarm spread as demands for secrecy surpassed calls for progress. The Rhetorical Centrum (RHETCEN) had been located on the East Coast between Maryland and Virginia. Indications were that Capitol Hill was the focal point. A halt to the research was inevitable as consternation, hesitation and doubt reached a boiling point.

To sidestep the problem, the National Center for the Study of Intelligence Variation (nicknamed Int-plus) was established. Its key department was called the Section for Latent Intelligence Projects (SLIP). In true diplomatic fashion, SLIP was to re-direct studies so as not to offend important politicians and to explore secondary areas—military uses, sports and the law. The center was opened in Montana. It enjoyed the best facilities and employed the most advanced linguists and phonologists and had the specific aim of studying the relationship of human intelligence to hollow declamation and elocutionary extravagance.

By the end of the decade (1980), it had been established that conversational overflow indeed retarded progress in thought. The most astonishing finding showed that the dulling effect of steamy bombast had been grossly underestimated. Vigorous research was launched into this "Universal Mind Numbing Phenomena" (UNNUM) for it was unclear whether the speaker or the listener was the more affected.

At the same time, the search for the area of maximum speech logic efficiency was continued. This capability for maximum self-abnegation in rhetorical logic, scientists calculated, would be an area in the US filled with elegant phraseology of apparent wisdom but of actual misjudgment. Speech there would be verdant show-speech handled with perfect mastery but consisting of stuffed nonsense. When social psychologists were hastily consulted, they revealed that underlying all American diction was unconscious revolt against colonialism, and that political speakers were still fighting the Revolutionary War with padded words 206 years after the event! With that, it became evident why the population produced (and loved) such far-fetched phraseology, so many opulent declamations, such turns of phrase, and so many speeches on imaginary subjects which had no connection to reality—in short, why so many tried so hard to persuade so many with so little success. Elegant phraseology simply could not be separated from hopeless ignorance. Confusion resulted. The study had to be abandoned. It was declared to be of no military value. To make authentic progress other avenues would have to be explored.

Thus, by early 1983, it was officially clear that the study of language alone as the root of intelligence would be futile. Using formal rules of scientific method on the project had proven ineffective. No order, no precision, would emerge from the study of American speechways. The new science had reached a low point. Still, in a desperate effort to continue experimentation and to assure funds, it was decided to target the oft-repeated expression "you know," the most frequent use of which was to pinpoint the site of maximum mean usage per hour. Speech analysts considered "you know" the epitome of popular meaninglessness and eagerly went to work. New York was the acknowledged origin—if not the site of maximum use of this contracted expression which derived from, "Do you know what I mean?" Accordingly, a special survey, called the You Know Survey (YUKS) was conducted. A special formula showed that such was the frequency of usage that it was necessary to use computers normally employed by Kitt's Peak Observatory for astronomical calculations. Work on this continues.

Meanwhile, the You Know Survey unexpectedly produced immediate public resentment in the streets, much to the surprise of its designers. A great furor arose. The people felt offended that a study of such an important part of their language and life—a cornerstone of their ability to monopolize and dominate conversation, was being done by outsiders. Progress was stalled. It was the only case where public irritation was experienced by any of

PLEASE DO NOT POST
BILLY ON THIS WALL.
THEY WILL BE COVERED
OVER WITH WHITEWASH.

This hand-lettered sign was put up
on the wall of the Bankers Federal Savings
& Loan Assn. at W. 4th St. & 6th Ave.
NYC on Mar. 21, 1983

The sign as it appeared on Mar. 22

the study projects. The new science had met its first opponents.

Then a breakthrough occurred. An eminent expert from Kentucky put forth the hypothesis that intelligence was tied not to the ability to solve problems, not to the ability to see them, but to the underlying logic of language itself. She pointed out that clear language, both spoken and written, enhanced intelligence only if the logical structure itself stemmed from a rational history. Fuzzy language, or language too pretentious for the occasion, reduced intelligence only if the core language was so shaped by history that it permitted instant flops into supefying bombast. Clearly, people understood each other not because of what was said, but because it had been said so many times before. They understood through habit. The new science was revived.

Whatever comes of these efforts, we may conclude that the study of intelligence enhancement has not followed expected paths. The original study was sidetracked, but science and politics don't mix too well so concrete results were unlikely. Meanwhile, we continue to wonder how human intelligence can be reduced or increased. As new discoveries are made, renewed calls for research on Congress multiply. Experts complain that the original search should have been completed, and that the first find, RHETCEN (Congress), has too long been ignored. The younger, bolder scientists even suggested moving SLIP from Montana to Maryland, but counter-arguments cite decorum and propriety. Study continues and breakthroughs are expected at any time as mathematical techniques are perfected. If it should be discovered that politicians indeed are less intelligent than the common citizen, then a special science commission will have to determine the significance of the findings.

The question will inevitably come up: "Does politics reduce the intelligence of the average citizen who enters the profession (or is elected)?" Scientific investigations so far have not provided one clue. For the present, we have only the statements

of people who have worked with politicians, who have been married to them, who have bribed them, or who have written about them—non-scientists all. But the groundwork for a new academic discipline has been laid. People wait with anticipation for dynamic developments as the new science unfolds. Some hesitation, resistance and false-starts may be expected as new light is thrown on the age-old problem. The limitless applicability of increased human intelligence is readily apparent when the awesome magnitude of human mental rigidity is considered. This alone should encourage everyone to support the new science—a subject of utmost gravity, of great utility, and of limitless promise.

ARTHUR HOPPE

The best \$15 I ever spent was to join The Moral Majority. At hand is another mailing from my leader, Rev. Jerry Falwell. He's now offering to say my prayers for me at only 83 cents a prayer.

I couldn't wait to tell my dear wife, Glynda, who has always looked upon The Moral Majority with, I fear to say, some suspicion.

"It's all quite straightforward," I assured her. "Jerry wants us to pledge \$10, \$15 or \$25 a month to keep his Old Time Gospel Hour on the air. And in return he'll send us one of these little blue 'Prayer Request Cards' every 30 days. See? There's space on it for 12 prayers."

"He says your prayers for you?" asked Glynda.

"Well, maybe not personally. He's a busy man. But on the bottom here it says: 'Each of your requests will be prayed for individually by a member of our Prayer Team.'"

"Oh, Lord," Glynda began singing sweetly, "won't you buy me a Mercedes-Benz . . ."

"Don't be blasphemous," I said. "Look what happened to Janis Joplin. Besides, people hire people to walk their dogs and buy their Christmas presents. Why not hire someone to say your prayers, too, especially at these bargain rates?"

"You think the Prayer Team will do it better?"

"It stands to reason," I said. "They're trained professionals. I'll bet they all have crisp, no-nonsense, staccato deliveries. They can't afford to waste much time on an 83-cent prayer. Why should the Good Lord listen to a rank amateur like me, mumbling and muttering and getting all balled up?"

"And you're a freeloader, too," said Glynda, nodding. "Maybe we should pledge \$25 so we'd have \$2 prayers. You get what you pay for. Which reminds me, does Jerry offer any warranties?"

"I wouldn't presume to ask," I said. "But he's been in business a long time."

"So has the Mafia," said Glynda.

I told her not to be so cynical and took out my pen. "May I have your Prayer Requests?" I asked.

"Well, we could use a new planter for the coropsis," she said musingly. "And I have been thinking about a cover for the telephone book."

"Good heavens, woman," I said testily. "I'm not going to ask Jerry to bother the Lord with such trifles. Think big!"

"All right," she said. "How about that stock you bought in the Honolulu Hula Hoop Company? Do you think the fad could be brought back?"

"He's omnipotent," I said. "Anyway, the 83 cents will be deductible as a business expense. Personally, I'm seeking a cure for occluded bivalves."

"You don't have an occluded bivalve."

"I might some day and the prayer will be a medical write-off."

[Please turn to page 25]

A reader who lost her city job when she refused to take Marion Barry's political orders, points out that my recent piece on the state of the city government, in which I complained about the lack of outside pressure on the administration, failed to take into account the relationship between that pressure and the threat of retaliation against those who pressure: "My ability to work with organizations or be individually creative is tied to a personal need for financial survival ... others understand this as well in DC ... the only difference is a real level of fear of being punished for opposition. Folks who have no other source of income can't take the risk. I do think we'll begin to see some renewed energy ... but reality is reality."

The point is a good one and, among other things, points to a rather startling difference between the Washington and Barry administration. People may not have liked what the Washington administration did but they were not afraid of it.

The Gazette has pointed out in the past the tendency of Metro to compete with itself by building subway lines along the routes of its more successful bus lines, but now Metro has come up with an even more remarkable achievement. It has built a subway line (the Yellow Line) to compete with another subway line (the Blue Line). The former opened last month and, according to the Washington Post, based on the first passenger survey, "virtually all morning Yellow Line passengers had previously used the Blue and Orange Lines. They apparently switched to save time. Morning ridership on the Blue and Orange lines dropped by about 3,800 passengers, about the same number now riding the Yellow Line."

Metro estimated that about 3500 persons would ride the Yellow Line during the busiest morning hour. Initial reports are that only about 2000 do.

While on the subject of Metro, let's turn now to its deficit. By next year local governments will be paying subsidies equal to 200 times what the transit system was losing when it was taken over as a public agency. Meanwhile the area cost of living index has risen about 2.2 times. The deficit is expected to double again by 1988. As outgoing city transportation boss (and incoming city administrator) Tom Downs put it to the Post, "We're gaining a rail system but it's costing us a fortune." We could cut our losses by stopping further construction of Metro but regional politicians still act as though some miracle will save them.

Fire deaths in DC have dropped dramatically in the past few years. There were 48 fire deaths in 1979, 31 in 1980, 25 in 1981 and 16 in 1982. The city's smoke detector law was passed in 1978 and fully implemented by June of 1981.



SAM SMITH

The president has appointed Glenn T. Urquhart the new chair of the National Capital Planning Commission. In case that name doesn't ring a bell, let me quote from a Jan. 25, 1979, story in the Washington Post:

"A wrecking crew began demolishing three of the seven houses known as Michler Place last week, on the same day that all seven of the century-old buildings were declared historic landmarks [by the landmarks committee of the NCPC]"

" *** At the landmarks committee hearing *** [developer Glen] Urquhart argued against landmark designation for the structures. Urquhart said he agreed with with the proponents of landmark status that the buildings in the row, which were built in the 1870s by politician-developer Alexander Shepherd "represent the growth of the downtown area in the 1870s. But why prohibit the growth of the downtown area today? Alexander Shepherd was a real estate developer. Why not permit the cycle to repeat itself?"

You haven't read too much about it in your favorite morning daily, but the reporter minions at the Post have been working on the basis of a contract that expired last July. According to reporter negotiators, there had been 47 meetings as of April 5, but almost all of them were limited by the company to two hours. Said a newsletter from the Committee for a New Contract, "The company is not refusing to bargain. That would be against the law. It has been stalling and counting on your apathy."

Just coming to light: one of the earliest opponents of Ollie Carr's Metropolitan Square project (that's the one that threatens Rhodes Tavern) was none other than the US Secret Service. On Oct. 10, 1979, John Simpson, SS assistant director for protective operations, wrote the National Capital Planning Commission complaining that the project would "have an unobstructed view onto the White House grounds, and this would present an uncontrollable situation from a security standpoint." Simpson added what he described as a "personal observation:"

"Approval of the Carr Company proposal will represent a serious

invasion of privacy to the President and his family. (Obviously any construction which would afford a view onto the South Grounds is, in effect, building a platform over the President's backyard. It should be understood that the White House is the President's home and one of the very few places where he and his family can retire from public view."

In fact, partial construction of Metropolitan Square has already caused the president's movements to be limited in the interest of security. As an article in Legal Times noted, "The stunning view from the terrace sweeps from the green of the White House grounds directly below, to the spires of the National Cathedral."

The city knew about the Secret Services' objections but, I suppose, merely lumped them in with the other kooks opposing progress in DC.

In the long, dreary march away from a commitment to social services, the Barry administration announced plans to up health clinic fees -- in some cases more than doubling the cost. Some 16,000 medical patients and 11,000 dental patients will suffer.

For what it's worth the publishers of all three alternative papers in town are named Smith.

Has it ever occurred to you that the flap over who is going to win the numbers contract here could be very easily solved by a lottery? Just a suggestion.

The city council, which could stand eyeball to eyeball with a hamster and still blink, backed down on its previous decision to hold ANC elections this fall. This happened while the last issue was going to the post office; as a result the votes recorded in our report card will have to be changed again. Three councilmembers who previously had voted in favor of holding the elections switched to a negative vote: Rolark, Winter and Shackleton. The most curious reason given was that of Polly Shackleton who said that "there could be nothing worse for our status with Congress...than the fact that we can not guarantee a good election." It sounds like something the president of El Salvador would say.

Special credit, on the other hand, should be given to John Wilson, who has seen this issue clearly from the start and who commented during the debate that "Everything in this city works if certain people want it to work. If this city isn't ready to hold elections, then the city ought to find somebody who can."

Wilson also pointed out Bill Spaulding's nonfeasance as chair of the committee that is supposed to oversee the board of elections.

The matter came up for a final vote just as we went to press and, as expected, the ANC elections were discarded for this year.

CHURCHES & THE DEATH PENALTY

INSTITUTE FOR SOUTHERN STUDIES PO BOX 531 DURHAM, NC 27702 (919)688-8167

Many white Americans (especially Southerners) used to cite various Bible texts to justify slavery. Take, for instance, Ham's famous curse of his son, Canaan, who saw his nakedness: "Cursed be Canaan, a slave of slaves shall he be to his brothers." (Genesis 9:25). Or consider Joshua's condemnation of the people of Gibeon after they tricked him into thinking they were friends from a foreign land: "Now therefore you are cursed, and some of you shall always be slaves, hewers of wood and drawers of water for the house of my God." (Joshua 9:23).

Today, some people believe the Bible justifies the execution of convicted murderers because it says, "You shall give life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burn for burn, wound for wound, stripe for stripe." (Exodus 21:23-25).

Of course, the notion of "an eye for an eye" is repudiated elsewhere in the Bible. Leviticus 19:18 says, "You shall not take vengeance or bear any grudge against the sons of your own people, but you shall love your neighbor as yourself." And in the New Testament, Paul writes, "Beloved, never avenge yourselves, but leave it to the wrath of God; for it is written, 'Vengeance is mine, I will repay, says the Lord.'" (Romans 12:19). Jesus squarely confronts the Old Testament and tells his followers, "You have heard it said, 'An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth,' but I say unto you, Do not resist one who is evil. . . ." (Matthew 5:38-39).

Somehow these verses don't impress the advocates of capital punishment. The Bible says kill and they want people killed. "My stand is that the Bible has always said it," argues the Reverend Jim Henry, pastor of the First Baptist Church in Orlando, Florida. "The Bible never changed. We're the ones who changed."

Of course, if we still followed such advice, we might still have slavery in America. And if we followed the Bible's literal demand for the death sentence, we'd have to kill a lot more people than just the convicted murderers among us. According to the same chapters that call for "an eye for an eye,"

Whoever strikes his father or his mother shall be put to death.

Whoever steals a man, whether he sells him or is found in possession of him, shall be put to death.

Whoever curses his father or his mother shall be put to death.

...if the ox has been accustomed to gore in the past, and its owner has been warned but has not kept it in, and it kills a man or a woman, the ox shall be stoned, and its owner also shall be put to death. . . .

You shall not permit a sorceress to live.

Whoever lies with a beast shall be put to death.

Whoever sacrifices to any god, save to the Lord only, shall be utterly destroyed.

If a man commits adultery with the wife of his neighbor, both the adulter and the adulteress shall be put to death."

The list goes on. Another dozen offenses (including disobedience, drunkenness and gluttony) are punishable by death under Mosaic Law. Reading the list, one wonders who would be left to kill those who needed killing.

The same thought must have occurred to Jesus when he met a woman accused of adultery whom some wanted stoned for her capital offense. "Let him who is without sin among you be the first to throw a stone at her," he chided, again reversing the vindictive edge of the Mosaic Law with a principle of healing grace. When the crowd departed, he told the woman, "go and do not sin again."

The rule of love and redemption set forth by Jesus contrasts sharply with the harsh standards of the Mosaic codes. But Biblical experts point out that, in Moses's time, demanding restitution and punishment-equal-to-the-crime actually demonstrated progressive intentions; it repudiated the prevailing, more brutal codes which called for revenge against whole families, tribes or villages for the transgressions of a single member. Most religious leaders — even those following the literal Word of God — recognize the different circumstances under which God's Law is given in the Old and New Testaments. Common sense also suggests that what was a progressive standard for Moses's day may need considerable revision in modern times.

Today's leaders of the organized Jewish and Christian bodies interpret their Biblical heritage and mission in the modern world in a variety of ways. But there is a startling unanimity among the major religious organizations on the appropriateness of executions in our society. The following collection of excerpts from their policy statements indicates that if killing by the state were a question decided by our moral leaders — instead of by politicians seeking easy votes — the U.S. would join the majority of nations in abolishing the death penalty.

AMERICAN BAPTIST CHURCHES, *General Board, June, 1977*

"... American Baptists condemn the current reinstatement of capital punishment and oppose its use under any new or old state or federal law, and call for an immediate end to planned executions throughout the country. . . . We appeal to the governors of each state where an execution is pending to act with statesmanship and courage by commuting to life imprisonment without parole all capital cases within their jurisdiction."

CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN, *Annual Conference, 1957 and 1975*

"Because we regard human life as sacred, and because we believe that the Sixth Commandment has application to organized societies as well as to individuals, we stand ready to give our support to legislation now proposed in many states, for the abolition of capital punishment."

"... Brethren are encouraged to work for the following changes: That the use of capital punishment be abolished. . . ."

U.S. CATHOLIC CONFERENCE, *Committee on Social Development and World Peace, March, 1978*

"We are deeply troubled by the legislative

efforts being undertaken under the guise of humanitarian concern to permit execution by lethal injection. Such a practice merely seeks to conceal the reality of cruel and unusual punishment. We find this practice unacceptable. The critical question for the Christian is how we can best foster respect for life, preserve the dignity of the human person and manifest the redemptive message of Christ. We do not believe that more deaths are the response to the question. . . . In the sight of God, correction of the offender has to take preference over punishment, for the Lord came to save and not to condemn."

CHRISTIAN CHURCHES (*Disciples of Christ*), *International Convention, 1957*

"We believe that Christians can no longer justify support of the practice of capital punishment. It has become increasingly clear that the *certainty* of apprehension and conviction rather than *severity* of punishment is the real deterrent to crime. Under such circumstances the death sentence becomes not a real protection to society but only a crude form of vengeance or retributive justice."

EPISCOPAL CHURCH, *General Convention, 1968*

"The Church believes that each individual is sacred, as a child of God, and that to legalize killing of an offender is to deny the basic Christian doctrines of forgiveness of sin and the power of redemption."

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, 1976

"The Supreme Court agrees that there is no conclusive evidence that the death penalty acts as a deterrent to crime. It recognizes that the continuing demand for capital punishment is in part a manifestation of a desire for retribution. We find it particularly shocking that the Supreme Court would give credence to retribution as a basis for law. . . . It is bad enough that murder or other capital crimes are committed in the first place and our sympathies lie most strongly with the victims, but the death penalty restores no victim to life and only compounds the wrong committed in the first place."

LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA, *Biennial Convention, 1966*

"The state is commanded by God to wield its power for the sake of freedom, order and justice. The employment of

the death penalty at present is a clear misuse of this mandate because (a) it falls disproportionately upon those least able to defend themselves, (b) it makes irrevocable any miscarriage of justice, and (c) it ends the possibility of restoring the convicted person to effective and productive citizenship."

REFORMED CHURCH IN AMERICA, General Synod, 1965

"Capital Punishment is incompatible with the spirit of Christ and the ethic of love. . . . The law of love does not negate justice, nor does it indulge in sentimental softness toward the wrongdoers. But it does nullify the motives of vengeance and retribution by forcing us to think in terms of redemption, rehabilitation and reclamation. The application of the death sentence puts an offending person outside the pale of human help or hope. . . . The family of a victim may desire vengeance by seeing the criminal executed. But it is not the function of society to satisfy such personal vengeance."

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, Annual Meeting, 1972

"...Capital punishment has too often been discriminatory in its application and is increasingly being rejected by civilized people throughout the world. . . . We agree that the death penalty is cruel, unjust and incompatible with the dignity and self respect of man."

UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST, General Synod, 1969

"...We are concerned about the disproportionate number of black and poor who occupy death row and, white and black, who are victims of an evil which decent people of our society have too long endured and which violates categorically our Judeo-Christian ethic."

UNITED METHODIST CHURCH, General Conference, 1976

"The United Methodist Church is convinced that the rising crime rate is largely an outgrowth of unstable social conditions which stem from an increasingly urbanized and mobile population, from a long period of economic recession, from an unpopular and disruptive war, a history of unequal opportunities for a large segment of the nation's citizenry and from inadequate diagnosis and treatment of criminal behavior. The studies of the social causes of crime continue to give no substantiation to the conclusion that capital punishment has a deterrent value. . . . The United Methodist Church declares its opposition to the retention and use of capital punishment and urges its abolition."

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U.S., General Assembly, 1978

"[God's] justice and love cannot be separated or set against each other. . . . The answer is given for the first time in the New Testament — surprisingly enough (or perhaps not so surprising) in the story of one man who was arrested, thrown into prison, tried in a courtroom, sentenced to capital punishment and executed as a criminal. . . . God's annihilating wrath against sin, and his terrible justice, is executed in such a way that he takes it on himself rather than let it fall on those who deserve it. . . . In the exchange of places between the Judge and unrighteous sinners in Jesus Christ, we see both God's justice and God's love in the same act — love which is just and justice which is loving."

UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U.S.A., General Assembly, 1977

"...Capital punishment cannot be condoned by an interpretation of the Bible based upon revelation of God's love in Jesus Christ. . . . As Christians we must seek redemption of evil doers and not their death. . . . The resumption of executions can only degrade and dehumanize all who participate in the process."

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS, General Assembly, 1959

"We believe there is no crime for which the taking of human life by society is justified, and that it is the obligation of society to evolve other methods in dealing with crime."

—Come Unity

CHALLENGING THE DEATH PENALTY

JOHN STEINBACH

"It is likely that there will be a resumption of executions on a regular basis in the United States by the end of 1983," said Henry Schwarzschild, director of the American Civil Liberties Union program on the death penalty. While the Reagan Justice Department scenario of three executions per week in 1984 seems unlikely, Schwarzschild expects the impending Supreme Court decision on the appeals process to postpone for only a few months the executions of the dozens of Death Row inmates whose appeals avenues have been exhausted. It now seems likely that the "deluge" of executions long predicted by activists is about to begin in earnest.

The facts of the matter speak for themselves. Since the de facto legalization of the death penalty by the Supreme Court in 1976 there have been six executions; thirty-seven states now carry the death penalty with several others considering the issue; there are approximately 1,200

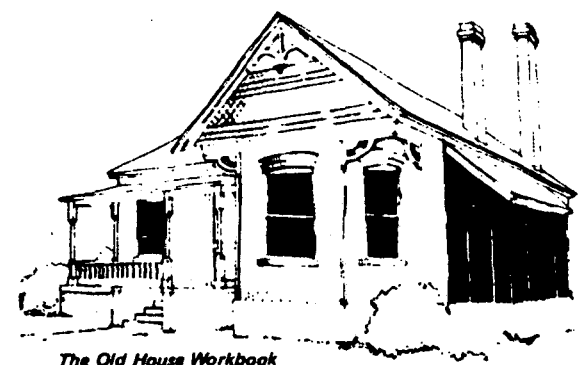
prisoners on Death Row, 80% in the south, 45% of them Black, and the vast majority poor; the death sentence rate has been increasing sharply and now stands at around 250 per year; and for many condemned prisoners, the appeals process has been exhausted. Today the US appears on the verge of becoming one of only a handful of industrialized nations to impose and carry out the death penalty on a regular basis.

An array of potent political forces is pressing for the early resumption of the death penalty, including the law enforcement establishment (a new group of police against the death penalty called Law Enforcement Against Death has been formed), opportunistic state politicians, frightened citizens' groups, and public opinion polls indicating strong public support for the death penalty. Opposing these forces is a loose coalition of peace, religious, and human rights groups and thousands of concerned individuals whose strong legal, ethical, and moral arguments have, so far, prevented the resumption of regular executions. Mary Meehan, writing in the November 20 issue of *America*, the Jesuit newspaper, presented ten arguments against the death penalty: there is no way to remedy mistakes; there is racial and economic discrimination in application of the death penalty; application of the death penalty tends to be arbitrary and capricious; the

death penalty gives some offenders undeserved publicity; the death penalty involves medical doctors, who are sworn to preserve life, in the act of killing; executions have a corrupting effect on the public; the death penalty is not limited to the worst cases; the death penalty is an expression of the absolute power of the state; there are strong religious reasons to oppose the death penalty; and even the guilty have a right to life.

In the 1930s executions were taking place at a rate of three per week. This was a time of economic depression, and the weekly carnage served to distract people's attention from their personal misery. It is no coincidence that we are now entering a new period of economic hard times, and once again the specter of weekly executions seems a very real possibility.

—Washington Peace Center newsletter



The Old House Workbook

RALPH NADER

An Interview

I recently interviewed Ralph Nader for a British publication prior to his recent appearances at rallies in England. Here are some excerpts from that interview.
— Sam Smith

SMITH: The press still has a tendency to refer to you as "consumer advocate Ralph Nader," even though that has been, for a fairly long time, a pretty inadequate description. Do you mind being regarded as a sort of national Mr. Fixit? If you do, how would you describe yourself?

NADER: I broadly define "consumers" as people who buy goods in the marketplace, buy services in the marketplace, and people who pay taxes for government services. The government and the marketplace corporations are supposed to be producing in such a way as to benefit the receivers — the consumers. So I don't mind the appellation "consumer advocate" although probably using more conventional language we're involved in fulltime citizen advocacy heavily focussed on corporate and government power.

SMITH: There seems to be something slightly American about the concept of a "Public Citizen," the idea that governing is too important to leave to the government, which is reflected in the Constitution among other places. Is this an idea that is difficult to transfer to other countries?

NADER: It's a little more difficult because in Great Britain and other western European countries. If people are involved in citizen activity it's usually through one of several political parties. So if you say to someone, "Are you an active citizen?" the interpretation almost is "Yes, I'm part of a political party movement" because in those countries there are numerous political parties in the parliamentary system and it's much easier to get on the ballot as a candidate than it is in our essentially two-party system. But I think in recent years, in both England and western Europe, on issues like nuclear power, toxic waste dumps and arms control, more and more Europeans are beginning to see the necessity for organization outside of formal politics, outside of formal political parties, in order to build power on the political system and have the leverage that only independent citizens movements can have in this regard. And that's why we're seeing massive rallies against nuclear plants in Western Germany and France and continual round-the clock protests against the placement of missiles in Great Britain by thousands of citizens. So in a way they're beginning to recognize the need for citizen action outside the formal political system working on the system from the outside.

SMITH: Are there any striking differences between the environmental movement in Europe and the US?

NADER: Yes, one is that we're able to use the courts more readily than the counterpart environmentalists are in England and Western Europe. Our courts have been more active historically. They have more authority to overturn governmental decisions. They're not as difficult to use because of the contin-

agency fee that is part of our legal system which allows lawyers to take more risky cases than would ordinarily be the case. Secondly, environmentalists in this country work in the context of freedom of information laws. They're able to get reports and documents from governmental agencies that their counterparts in Western Europe cannot get because, instead of freedom of information laws in western Europe we have official secrecy acts.

SMITH: The freedom of information laws are not an ancient ally. They're part of the change in which you've been involved. So it's possible that this is an idea that will spread, too?

NADER: Well, there have been people who have been trying in England now for ten years very, very assiduously and they haven't been able to break through. In Canada there have been people trying and they may get a bill but it doesn't have judicial review. So this question of whether you release information is still in the hands of the bureaucrats.

SMITH: Another thing that strikes me as a possible difference is the attitude of the civil servant. One British activist mentioned to me the phenomenon of the whistleblower as something he regarded as typically American, something you didn't see in England.

NADER: Well there is a broader tradition, of recent vintage, of government officials blowing the whistle in this country. It is sort of unheard of in Great Britain for that to occur. There's a real tradition of the civil service and some decorum that's practiced. But we have a standard of ethics for government officials and employees in this country which explicitly advises the employee that his or her first loyalty is to the people of this country and to the Constitution and not to their superiors. I think also the absence of Draconian sanctions on whistleblowers until recent decrees by Ronald Reagan has encouraged the display of conscience over blind loyalty to superiors. And in Great Britain it's easier to win libel suits than it is in this country. So there are a lot of different restraints that operate. Furthermore because Congress often has an adversary relation with the executive branch, some government employees feel emboldened to speak out if they have the protection of a congressional committee or a powerful senator or representative.

SMITH: How many law suits do you have going at the present time?

NADER: Well, we probably have about fifty lawsuits at the present time largely with the litigation group of the Freedom of Information Clearinghouse.

SMITH: Which are the hottest issues that cut across national boundaries?

NADER: Trafficking in nuclear power and plutonium is one, trafficking in pharmaceutical products which are demonstrably unsafe in our country but which our laws allow to be exported to third world and other countries, commercial trade in pesticides, not only those that are illegal in this country but can be exported legally, but also the

way they're misused especially in third world countries. There's huge overapplication plus lack of adequate controls and storage and labelling. Those are three very top burner issues. And already there are consumer groups getting together internationally to set up a consumer Interpol and they have an alert system on hazardous drugs and pesticides, so if there are studies or reports or laws adverse to these drugs or pesticides in one country there'll be an alert to other consumer groups around the world. In areas like East Asia there is a rising consumer movement. As prosperity comes, also comes a rising concern. And in some places in South America, that's about the only form of dissent allowed in any power sense. In Brazil it's quite permissible to criticize multinational corporations whereas it's impermissible to criticize very strenuously the government.

SMITH: How is it that there's this tremendous lag on issues like lead-free gas from country to country?

NADER: Because there's not enough good fast communication between citizen and environmental and consumer groups. And secondly, in Great Britain you only have one opportunity to change the policy. You have to change the government's policy. In our country you can work on the states. You can go to the courts. You can have Congress investigate and put pressure on the ultimate decision-maker, which would be the government agency. I think that's the drawback in Britain. Thirdly, we had a few outspoken experts in lead poisoning, very prominent academicians, and I didn't see that forthcoming in England. I think also what helped the ban-lead movement was the disclosure of the high level of lead in ghetto children's bodies which I don't think occurred in England.

A new party?

SMITH: You've had a certain number of ambivalences, uncertainties and confusions over how to deal with the political system. At one point I got the sense you were trying to infiltrate the Carter administration and that didn't seem too successful. At another point you compiled a bunch of dossiers on members of Congress and you got mainly bad press. Now I notice you told a group in Minnesota that you thought now was the time to think about starting a small activist party modelled along the lines of the Green Party. Was that a throw-away line or was it a serious thought?

NADER: Well, I think citizen groups — not all of them, some of them won't want to — will have to move into political electoral leverage. If the young people of this country formed a party that got just three or four percent of the vote they'd have bargaining power with the Democrats, where now the Democrats have no particular need to respond to the demands of younger people. It also trains people in the political arts so they feel more confidence to move into the major political parties and begin changing them. Even if they don't win, they still operate with bargaining power. Not the way the Green Party does because we don't have a parliamentary system, but in the

primary period and in other ways. Simply telling candidates of the two major parties that X Party has five percent of the vote and has all kinds of precinct workers and if they negotiate on certain issues and agendas they'll throw the support to the candidate of a major party, it can make a difference. So I think there needs to be more serious thought there.

SMITH: Having been involved in a third party for about ten years, I've gotten sort of discouraged by this approach and it's occurred to me lately that it would be more effective to work as an identifiable coalition within one of the major parties. Is this a reasonable alternative?

NADER: It might be at the local level. I don't know if it is at the national because there's not quite enough leverage there. There has to be leverage that can be called the difference.

SMITH: You place a great deal of emphasis on facts. But facts often end up as just the tools of values and premises. If I say to you that making good plastics and spurring the economy is worth a few hundred deaths or a few thousand cancers, your facts aren't going to have much impact on me. Now, I've already written these deaths into my budget. I may not have done it explicitly, but I've done it implicitly. How do you deal with what may be the primary fact: that your values are so different from mine?

NADER: Obviously, if you believe in what you believe in, you try to make these beliefs prevail and you look around and say, what are the purposes of these plastics? Well, they're for A,B,C, consumer uses. Well, are there ways you can meet these same uses and needs with a non-plastic material or is there a way you can make plastic that's degradable. But you don't give up. You just compete and persuade and advocate until you prevail.

SMITH: It strikes me that there's something almost theological going on in some of these battles. On the one hand we have a group of people highly directed toward personal salvation, accomplished through faith. On the other hand, are people who come out of a tradition going back as far as the American Indians in which man's relation to nature and the environment is very important and who have an almost religious outlook on what human life is about and what's important. This doesn't seem to get addressed even though it seems to be right at the core of the conflict.

NADER: Not necessarily religious beliefs, but values. There are people who root them in a theological base and there are people who root them in a more secular-ethical foundation. And then there are people who like to go through life on set patterns of belief which guide them. And there are other people who like to go through life on an uncertain pattern of thinking where they may explore different opportunities which aren't preordained and come to different conclusions based on the discovery of new facts. I think the citizens movement is very much in the latter category. That's probably why it's not so powerful. My father once told me

— when I was nine years old — I came home from school and he said, "Well, what'd you do today, believe or think?" I had to figure out the difference. It took me a few hours but the point he was trying to make is that it's okay to believe but it's important to think before you believe. Most historical movements which have become powerful and prevailed have been belief movements, not thought movements. They've been based on faith — whether it's religious faith or some kind of ideological "ism." So that's the great handicap in the citizens movement; it's a movement that continues to proceed on a thinking process.

The presidency

SMITH: I know you've turned down numerous suggestions that you run for president, but could you imagine for a moment that you were president? What sort of society would we have? How would we behave differently?

NADER: Well, there are two main functions of a president. One is to deal with the regular daily problems of the world and the other is to structurally empower people. You take the power of the presidency and you try to push forward across the whole frontier — the right of people to have a voice, namely access to mass communications systems like tv whether it's through cable tv co-ops or time on the networks. Second, the right for them to vote directly their preferences if the legislature or the representative democracy isn't working. That's initiative, referendum and recall. Thirdly, the right of different consumer groups to organize, like in the banking area, the insurance area, the electric utility and telephon area, through checkoffs on utility bills or on banking statements. You develop cheap, repetitive communications links where people who want to act are able to find one another, band together and move forward. I would also encourage more consumer-owned businesses, more consumer co-ops. Now why? Because it's really the theory of democracy. If you get more voice, under a rule of law so it doesn't become anarchal or chaotic, and you get more remedy and you get more people's values being respected, you are going to end up with better ideas and a better society. Furthermore, you'll end up with people being able to defend themselves better, defend themselves against pollution, or corruption or price fixing.

That's the big fallacy of all the political candidates. They say, "Elect me and I'm going to do this, this and this that have not been done." And the people say, "How are you going to do this, this and this that has not been done: if you don't have power behind you, citizen power?" And there's no answer. You see, the political candidates of our generation do not have a theory of power. They go with the flow and they try to garland the top of this concentrated power pyramid with a few transfer payments like social services. But they don't deal with the essence of politics, which is the more just redistribution of power — which is more basic and more generic than the distribution of wealth or income. That's what the Bill of Rights tried to do.

That's what the Homestead Act tried to do. That's what initiative and referendum tries to do.

SMITH: Now the first thing that some people would say is "What are you, a socialist or a communist or something?" How do get around the problem of not getting one's ideas pigeon-holed into those few political categories we're apparently allowed to have?

NADER: By being a democrat — small d — which is antithetical to monopoly capitalism, state capitalism, corporate socialism, or socialism of the Soviet type.

SMITH: We seem to be at a time when concern about the environment is growing and more broadly based than ever. At the same time we have the most anti-environmental president we've had in our lifetime. How do you explain that?

NADER: Because presidents are not elected or deselected on those issues. They have not surfaced to be really decisive front-rank issues. The front-rank issues are putting America back to work, fighting inflation, keeping ahead of the Russians militarily. Those are the issues that constantly win for presidents. Whoever is more adept in slogans and persuading people. John F. Kennedy one-upped Nixon — Nixon the prime militarist, because he more credibly sold to the American people the idea of the missile gap with the Soviet Union which turned out to be a hoax. There was no missile gap at that time. So there are a lot of issues that are cropping up through the soil, but they're not front-rank issues.

Hopeless?

SMITH: We're reaching the point with some of the pollution problems where even if we gain the will to do something in the near future, we may not be able to do that much about them. How do you attack that? It seems like we may have created a monster and we're already too late.

NADER: There already seem to be irreversible pollutants. But you can't allow irreversibility to diminish hope. Number one because things can get a lot worse. If X number of people are dying from asbestos-induced cancer, X times five can be if we don't diminish the use of asbestos. Second is that here is the possibility that some of these irreversible contaminants can be trapped by other chemicals and other environmental technologies and either detoxified or bonded with other elements. So that's always a possibility.

SMITH: One of the recent polls had you slipping from your place of eminence where I think you have generally ranked in public regard somewhere between the Pope and the president. On the other hand, I saw a poll just today which asked Americans whether they agreed with certain statements of concern about the country. The change between 1966 and 1983, which encompasses the time of your movement, were as follows:

"The rich get richer and the poor get

poorer." The number of Americans agreeing was up 75%.

"What a I think doesn't count very much." Up 67%.

"The people running the country don't really care what happens to you." Up 119%.

"I'm left out of things going on." Up 433%.

Forty-eight to 79% of Americans agreed with these statements. What's going on? We have the same people who no longer treat you like a hero sounding more and more like you.

NADER: Well, I think the poll you're referring to was one in which the question was one of effectiveness: am I as effective in protecting consumer interests? In a period when Reagan controls the government, consumer groups can't be as effective. They can't get cars safer, they can't get drugs removed from the market as readily as with a Democrat in the White House. So that perception was accurate if that, indeed, was the perception. But looking at the poll more carefully you see a shift in the group to the "fair" category. And Lou Harris [the pollster] defines "fair" as negative which may not be the way a lot of people view the word "fair." But another explanation is that it is a function of our success. As more and more groups are launched and the directors of these groups are media figures in their own right, they get more of the media attention. To the extent that these polls rely on perceptions that Americans gather from watching the nightly news or reading the newspaper, that kind of change can be an index of success, namely of diffusing and spreading out rather than having it focus on the Lone Ranger image.

SMITH: It really helps to have a national administration that has some capacity for guilt, doesn't it?

NADER: Yes. Or shame.

SMITH: What are some of the differences in the strategic approach towards an administration that does claim to agree with you in principle and one that doesn't care?

NADER: It's difficult to deal with an administration that outwardly claims to care but doesn't do anything. And a lot of the Carter administration was in that category, but Reagan, of course, doesn't even claim to espouse these values. In his campaign, he ran against energy conservation openly, saying that energy conservation was freezing in the winter and sweating in the summer. In a way it's easier to highlight the contrast with the Reagan administration, at least in terms of public opinion, but it is not easier to change the policy. So what you do is you have a defensive policy to preserve the gains from erosion by filing lawsuits, by getting the House of Representatives to stop the deterioration of the Freedom of Information Act. Secondly, you just sort of wait. You wait, you watch, you watch this cruel regime begin to bring itself down, which you're seeing in the Environmental Protection Agency brouhaha. And we're going to see more of that. The seeds of corruption, conflict of interest and sleaziness, were sown in January 1981. A lot of the top Reagan officials are nouveau riche with all the indifference

of nouveau riche people and lack of even a noblesse oblige. A lot of them went into government to dismantle it and they can't wait to get out and go back to their lucrative corporate business careers and a lot of them really haven't let go of those business careers. So we're likely to see more scandals and more corruption and more dubious conflict of interest which will erode the confidence level of the administration and even that of the president himself.

SMITH: Is it as easy to find volunteers as when you started?

NADER: We have many more than we could ever use. Volunteers are function of people seeing where you're going. They want to help. And we've got a lot of groups now which are doing things which a lot of potential volunteers see and so they send in their requests in great numbers.

SMITH: If Naderism was a drug, what would you list as its bad side-effects?

NADER: A low tolerance for watching TV long hours every week, a low tolerance for people who don't think they make a difference, a huge demand on the number of trees in the country to produce newspapers which are voraciously devoured by active citizens. And a slight diminution of personal concerns in favor of social concerns.

SMITH: Do you take any responsibility for the tripling of lawyers in Washington in the last decade?

NADER: Some responsibility. They've beefed up their law firms to oppose our activities. In that way we've created jobs. The citizen movement creates a lot of jobs. Pretty good jobs actually. We need 100,000 people to watch corporations fulltime. It would be nice if they could make a living out of it. They save billions of dollars and advance the people's health and safety.

SMITH: What about the way in which single-issue politics have contributed to the decline of party politics? It seems more difficult to get people involved in normal politics because they all seem to be drained off into single issue things.

NADER: I think that's because it's so hard to start parties. It's so hard to change the existing ones and it's so hard to put candidates on the ballot. In a place like England, I think I'm accurate in saying, or Canada, just a few names on a petition and you can run for parliament. Fifty names on a petition and you can run for parliament in Canada. So when the avenues are open to participate in party politics, fewer people are going to say, "Well, let's just stake out our one issue" and hammer away at it. I don't have any trouble with one-issue politics. We've always had that throughout our history. But if they are only single issues unable to enter the formal political structure, they're always going to be handicapped.

SMITH: what would a consumer-oriented president, an environmentally-oriented president do about relations with the Soviet Union and inflation, to mention two of the issues that you said were important in the last election?

The Russians

NADER: Well, one is to recognize that no one can win a nuclear war and that no one really wants a nuclear war unless they're insane, and stop the sabre rattling and belligerent talk and get down seriously to the process of on one hand reducing arms and on the other hand filling the vacuum of the savings with cooperative projects with the Soviet Union. We had cooperative projects in space. Reagan has reversed those, shut them down, taken them off these cooperative programs. There are a lot of cooperative programs that deal with not particularly politically threatening areas — health, environment, space and exchanging our pioneering innovations, and that has to be done. Now the political leaders of the US and the Soviet Union can not confront the risk of arms control, because the last thing they want to be accused of is being soft on one another. They see political security for themselves and keep building more arms, so it has to start with the people. That's why the citizen movements are so important in the US and that's why they've got to be encouraged in the Soviet Union. And you don't do that by threatening to fire demonstration missiles at one another.

SMITH: What about inflation?

NADER: Well, inflation is easy to cure if you take the Reagan approach, which is to generate a depression. But the real definition of inflation that I like the best is by the economist E.F. Schumacher of "Small is Beautiful" fame. He defined inflation as high prices. That simple. And you can cure high prices by breaking up monopolistic, anti-competitive practices, which are rampant throughout our country. In today's Washington Post there's a full page ad for a pain reliever, aspirin-type product, which sells for 60% of the price of Tylenol, and it's exactly the same chemical composition. And yet Tylenol outsells this brand by about eight to one because Tylenol spends \$30 million a year on advertising. That's inflation. Why would people want to buy the same kind of product and pay enormously more for it? Then there's the inflation of cartels and oil companies, and the anti-competitive practices which shield doctors and lawyers and other members of professions. The way to deal with inflation is to really break up these restraints on competition, and give consumers more power to individually and collectively bargain with producers and sellers. Then you've really got a process of economic sovereignty in the hands of the people for whom the economy is supposed to be operating, the consumers.

SMITH: We recently went through a period when interest rates hit a level which David Brinkley described as once only being charged by your Army sergeant. Even today the so-called "real interest rate" is at rather extraordinary levels. Yet there seems to have been a lack of public anger and activity on this issue. It seems like it should be one of the most important ones in the country but it doesn't get that much attention. Why is that?

NADER: Well, first of all, they're coming down and everything is relative. As

long as things are getting better you can't expect much public agitation. Secondly, money has always been inscrutable in a country that's devoted to material acquisition. It's a rather interesting contrast. Just the process of understanding the Federal Reserve and money and banking and reserve requirements has not been one of popular education, whether in our schools, including our universities, or in the media. So people feel like it's too difficult to understand.

SMITH: But if you go back to the early part of this century, the farmers in North Dakota understood. They did battle against the eastern banks. Is it something we've been taught is too complicated for us?

NADER: Well, why do people now only judge whether they can afford something by how much they pay down and how much they pay each month? See that's what the lenders have done. They've said, "Look, here's how much you pay each month. Can you afford it or not?" Never mind you might be paying 20% interest. So it's been packaged in a way to the great advantage of the lenders and the disadvantage of the borrowers. Which is another way of saying that the borrowers have not kept up with the sophistication of the lenders's manipulation. And the credit unions have failed. They seem to spend more and more of their time trying to mimic the bankers and the commercial banking industry rather than becoming what they should be which is a tremendously powerful consumer, cooperatively-run lending institution where they can expose and tackle and challenge the commercial banking world. If anybody had an answer as to how to change that around promptly they would be very prominent very quickly. But I think one answer, maybe, is the rise of consumer brokers who develop a way of expaining which plan is better. I think we're going to see the rise of the consumer broker. It fits in beautifully with the home computer. When you want to find out where the best interest rate is, you don't bother figuring it out, you don't bother trying to research it. You see a consumer broker who's helped you in the past and put a few bucks on a subscription to the service and you get the answer.

SMITH: Do you see the computer as something that will be very useful for organizing and for making the country more democratic or do you see it as a threat?

NADER: It could be either. It depends again on how knowledgeable consumer users are. The computer can be a terrific instrument to manipulate consumers. Or it can be a tool for consumers to fight back. Consumers can find out through computerized information systems what the best auto insurance policy is in the District of Columbia. There's now a range of between \$300 and \$900 for the same coverage by different companies. So we need democratic control of computerization systems so more people can use them as levers in their relations with government and their relations with corporations.

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THE PRESS

Bob Alperin

As a chronicler of the Chicago mayoral race, with its racial emphasis and bogus charges and its purported national ramifications, *The Washington Post* easily outdid several top non-Chicago papers. It's immediate pre- and post-election coverage surpassed both the *New York Times* and *Los Angeles Times*. But the *Post* never really explained Chicago politics to the reader.

Reporters easily found racially-motivated voters to quote and nasty incidents and leaflets to report, but they mostly ignored the main motivation of many Democratic politicians who defected to the Republican Epton—Washington's promise to reform the patronage system. Indeed the *Post* didn't report a federal judge's ruling that state and local government jobs in Northern Illinois must be publicly posted and that hiring for any political reason was prohibited. Deadlines were set for a hiring plan to be submitted to the court, and for compliance with it. A basic feature of the Chicago machine has been temporary employees (AP — *Philadelphia Inquirer*, *Boston Globe*) whose jobs were as safe as their precincts. (Nine days after the story broke, a Broder column covered it.)

Much reporting and discussion assumed that blacks would view a Washington loss as caused by racism. An *LA Times* poll found nationwide that almost as many (40%) blacks would have blamed his legal problems as would have blamed race (46%).

No matter who won the election it was clear that his relationship with the City Council would be an important part of explaining what the result might mean. The *Post* touched on the question: "Chicago technically had a weak-mayor system of government" but strong mayors have dominated the Council. "It appeared . . . Washington would be able to exert control over the Council to push many of his reform programs." In the *NY Times* "Political experts" expected Washington "to assemble an effective majority."

Neither paper told us the bases of their predictions. How had past mayors dominated, and what formal powers did mayor and council possess? How did the old patronage system work? What help, favors, jobs and contracts were available and who gave and received them? If Washington moves against city patronage, how important is the machine's remaining county government patronage base?

Aside from fleeting references, the aldermanic races were ignored. Seven incumbents lost. After decades of producing overwhelming wins, City Sewers Commissioner Quigley saw his man lose. Democratic county chairman Vrodolyak's protege lost a bid for a vacant seat. Ex-Black Panther turned capitalist Bobby Rush defeated an incumbent.

The national media were critical of the Chicago media's election coverage. Perhaps the overall

assessment was justified, but reading the *Chicago Tribune* in the immediate election period found responsible coverage. A front page story detailed the major lies of the campaign and the facts in each case.

Scholars and reporters sometimes revel in the image of the semi-literate ethnic politician. A lengthy "Outlook" interview with Alderman Marzullo, 85, kept the tradition alive. In marked contrast were the several other aldermen who defected to Republican Epton. Interviewed on WGN Chicago radio on how the race was going and how they'd deal with a Washington victory, they sounded articulate and reasonable. WTOP's use of WBBM Chicago coverage enabled other local observers to form similar impressions.

Chicago elections and fraud are often paired together, at least in the reporting. How odd that the *Inquirer* sub-head "Reports of fraud are few" was so rare, and that fraud's absence in such a bitterly-contested campaign was not a topic of wider attention.

• Retired Israeli General Matti Peled told the National Press Club that the way to peace was through direct negotiations with the PLO. In return for a state in Gaza and the West Bank they must renounce the right of return to what is now Israel. Hussein wasn't likely to enter talks that aren't supported by the PLO (*Washington Times*). Harkabi, a former Chief of Israeli Military Intelligence, favors direct negotiations with the PLO (*Hakoach*, U. of Md. Jewish student paper). Harkabi's book on a failed Jewish rebellion relates ancient history

CHARLES MCDOWELL

Government vs. Squirrels

WASHINGTON — Early one morning 30 years ago, I caught the Commonwealth of Virginia trapping squirrels in Capitol Square in Richmond. The commonwealth was "relocating" the squirrels in the boondocks, in Pocahontas State Park, in an effort to reduce the population that allegedly was damaging trees, shrubs and flowers in the square.

Aggressive journalism was called for. Aggressive journalism was also safe; people of all political stripes almost invariably will side with squirrels against government. Anyhow, the case was made that the squirrels were being treated unfairly by a hypocritical state.

Hypocritical because the commonwealth, famous for its conservatism, had for years coddled the Capitol Square squirrels with peanuts and tree houses provided by the government, and now the same commonwealth was trapping its wards and casting them into a free-enterprise situation in the boondocks where urban squirrels would be at a terrible disadvantage to wily country squirrels.

There was a considerable outcry against deporting the nice Capitol Square squirrels, if not against hypocrisy in government. Anyhow, the deportations were suspended for a while, and then resumed, and then suspended again, and I am not sure what the commonwealth's squirrel policy is at this time. Frankly, really keen squirrel coverage has lapsed in Richmond.

In 1977, long after I came to Washington as a correspondent, I happened to be walking through Lafayette Park near the White House, and I caught the government of the United States trapping squirrels. It was a similar story: overpopulation, and damage to trees, shrubs and flowers. The squir-

rels were being deported to parkland in Virginia.

The local press got onto the story, and there was strong protest. In this case it turned out that the government did not provide free food for the squirrels. But a half-dozen private citizens, working regular schedules, were distributing thousands of pounds of peanuts annually to the Lafayette Park squirrels. These people led the protest, and the Carter administration backed down on the deportations.

The Carter administration ordered a study of the squirrel situation in the park. The study was directed by David A. Manski, the only urban wildlife biologist in the National Park Service, with the counsel of two professors. Their findings were completed in 1980, and awaited the Reagan administration when it came to town.

What has occurred so far is a decision to conduct a further study. Manski has recruited 37 volunteer observers, and they spend a lot of time in the park observing and making notes. This will be the most intensive study of urban squirrels in history. On the basis of the preliminary report and what is being picked up in the subsequent fieldwork, I offer below some insights into the urban squirrel situation.

"Gray squirrel densities at Lafayette Park are the highest reported in the literature." Five or six squirrels per acre would be high. Here we are dealing with up to 21 per acre, or 172 squirrels in the 8.2-acre park.

Yes, the squirrels damage trees, shrubs and flowers. Damage to flowers has been reduced in an experiment in which the flowers are sprayed with hot chili sauce.

Feeding peanuts to the squirrels only encourages more squirrels to come to the park. Squirrels travel more successfully in a downtown environment than had been imagined. They cross streets quite often and seem to avoid the morning and evening rush hours.

Deportation of squirrels from the park might not reduce the population for long, because there would be immediate immigration (see above).

In fact, deportation projects might well result in increased problems, because "the interplay of resident and immigrant squirrels creates social tension that apparently is expressed as damage to trees, shrubs and flowers."

"The park's close proximity to the White House and high visibility to the public . . . amplifies any friction between the public and park managers. Strategies to reduce squirrel-park conflicts will be continually scrutinized by the public and may prove difficult to implement."

So any strategy for dealing with the squirrels has to be tested against the fundamental assumption that people will side with squirrels against government.

(Richmond Times-Dispatch)

to the present situation: *The Bar Kokhba Syndrome: Risk and Realism in International Politics*.

But Israelis with such illustrious military backgrounds saying negotiations with the PLO are a prerequisite to peace do not excite the curiosity of the media. Seemingly without any serious assessment of the PLO's thinking, commentators echo Sec. Shultz's call for the Arabs to stop recognizing the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

A *Post* news story illustrates how Palestinian and Arab concerns in general can be virtually ignored. A 26" article on US efforts to obtain Jordanian participation in the peace talks by promising pressure on Israel to freeze the establishment of West Bank settlements, noted in the final paragraph that the US officials stressed they hadn't decided how the US would persuade Israel. Would our leaders and commentators want the US to make a major concession on the basis of so vague a promise? (Incidentally, Shultz call for PLO derecognition was headlined "Move to Bar Jordan from Talks Hit.")

• At least two Saudi Arabian papers blamed Zionist plotting for the bombing of the US Embassy in Beirut, while another wondered how the US could ensure peace and security in Lebanon when it can't protect its own embassy (*Arab News* — a Saudi English language daily). Some Middle East reporter ought to be telling us to what extent the Saudi press represents the thinking of the royal family.

• *Post* readers may have passed by two potentially important stories because of uninformative headlines. The same *LA Times* dispatch was "Israel to Reassess Arms Purchases (*Post*)" and "Israel must depend less on U.S. for arms, Arens says" (*Miami Herald*). The latter provided a fuller story. An AP story was "Israel Said to Get Permission For U.S. Expertise on plane (*Post*)" and "US lets Israel use bomber technology" (*Globe*). The *Post*'s headlines were much smaller than the *Globe*'s and trailed a lengthy story about Begin and Pres. Navon urging Israelis to be more tolerant of each other.

• The *Post*'s extensive coverage of the killing and funeral of PLO moderate Sartawi ignored wire stories that the West Germans wanted him for a 1970 grenade attack on a bus carrying El Al passengers at Munich airport (*Herald*). The story asked why he wasn't apprehended on his many visits to Europe. Why German officials choose to release the information at this time is another interesting question. If the charges are valid, his evolution to a moderate is part of a larger, mostly unreported in the US media story—the evolution of the PLO from an organization focusing on violence to one making major use of diplomacy.

• A NY businessman, without consulting the Israeli government, started a fund to provide legal aid to Israelis accused of law violations for retaliating against Arab attacks (*LA Times: Courant*).

The *Post* has a major story on the growth of the US-backed anti-Sandinista army and the divergence of its goals with stated US objectives. Such fine coverage is not unusual, but neither are deficiencies, some of which are noted below.

When Salvadorean defense minister Garcia finally resigned, and Vides Casanova replaced him; much of both *Post* articles rehearsed the sequence leading to Garcia's fall but neglected to say much about Vides aside from noting his friendship for Garcia and his past post as National Guard commander. On the latter point the *Post* was alert. They said that since Vides appeared the likely new minister, the US has stressed his efforts to clean up the guard and his helpfulness in pursuing the investigation of the American churchwomen's murder. But the *Post* checked with diplomats serving when the case broke: they described Vides as an obstacle to the investigation.

Vides in the past rejected the use of US-suggested tactics such as small units and night patrols (*Inquirer*). He was politically as well as personally close to Garcia and the godfather of one of his children (*Globe*). Vides had a reputation as indecisive. Loyalty to superiors prevented him from offering opinions unless asked. Usulután Province's largest coffee farmer is his father-in-law (*Herald*). An underground representative of one of the leftist parties said Vides and his chief of staff were "the most gentlemanly" of the top officers (*NY Times*).

• The *Post*'s transition game broke down far more on another Salvadorean occasion. A paragraph towards the end of a lengthy story on the Pope's upcoming Central American visit noted that Rivera y Damas, "a strong supporter of dialogue" had been appointed archbishop. The *Herald* did a long analysis of the appointee's past—constant criticism of government human rights violation, opposition to any arms being brought into the country but less friendly to the guerrillas than his predecessor, the assassinated Romero.

Some Latin American news not in the *Post* included:

• "Three well-placed U.S. officials" told the *LA Times* (used by *Herald*) they had seen two State Dept. cables with "convincing evidence" that new Salvadorean Assembly president D'Aubusson had been one of about a dozen officers who drew lots for the right to plan Archbishop Romero's killing. He won. The material allegedly threw light on the death squads generally as well as on the Romero case.

• When the Soviets warned that new US missiles in Europe could lead to the US being put in an "analogous position" it fueled speculation that missiles would be put into Cuba. A Soviet general said there was "no need" for that, it was "enough" to have new systems in the USSR (AP: *Herald, Globe, Atlantic City Press*).

• \$25 million in US loans for Salvadorean land reform is missing, a report done for the US Embassy revealed (UPI: *Globe, St. Louis Post-Dispatch*). Opposition parties accuse the Agrarian Reform Institute of corruption.

• Recall Guatemala's six firing squad executions on the eve of the Pope's visit and after his appeal for clemency? The fundamentalist church to which Pres. Rios Montt belongs strongly endorsed them (UPI: *Courant, Globe*).

• Fallout from US support of Britain in the Malvinas/Falklands dispute: Argentina avoided the South Atlantic naval maneuvers usually held jointly with the US, Brazil, and Uruguay (*Wash. Times*).

• The *Herald* and the *Inquirer* reported that a GAO study-in-progress was finding that the grand total of US aid to Israel was over \$22.5 billion rather than the usually accepted figure of \$17.2 billion. A follow-up of this still *Post*-neglected story says the report, expected by Feb. 1, was being held up until around June 1—presumably after Congress finishes work on this year's funding.

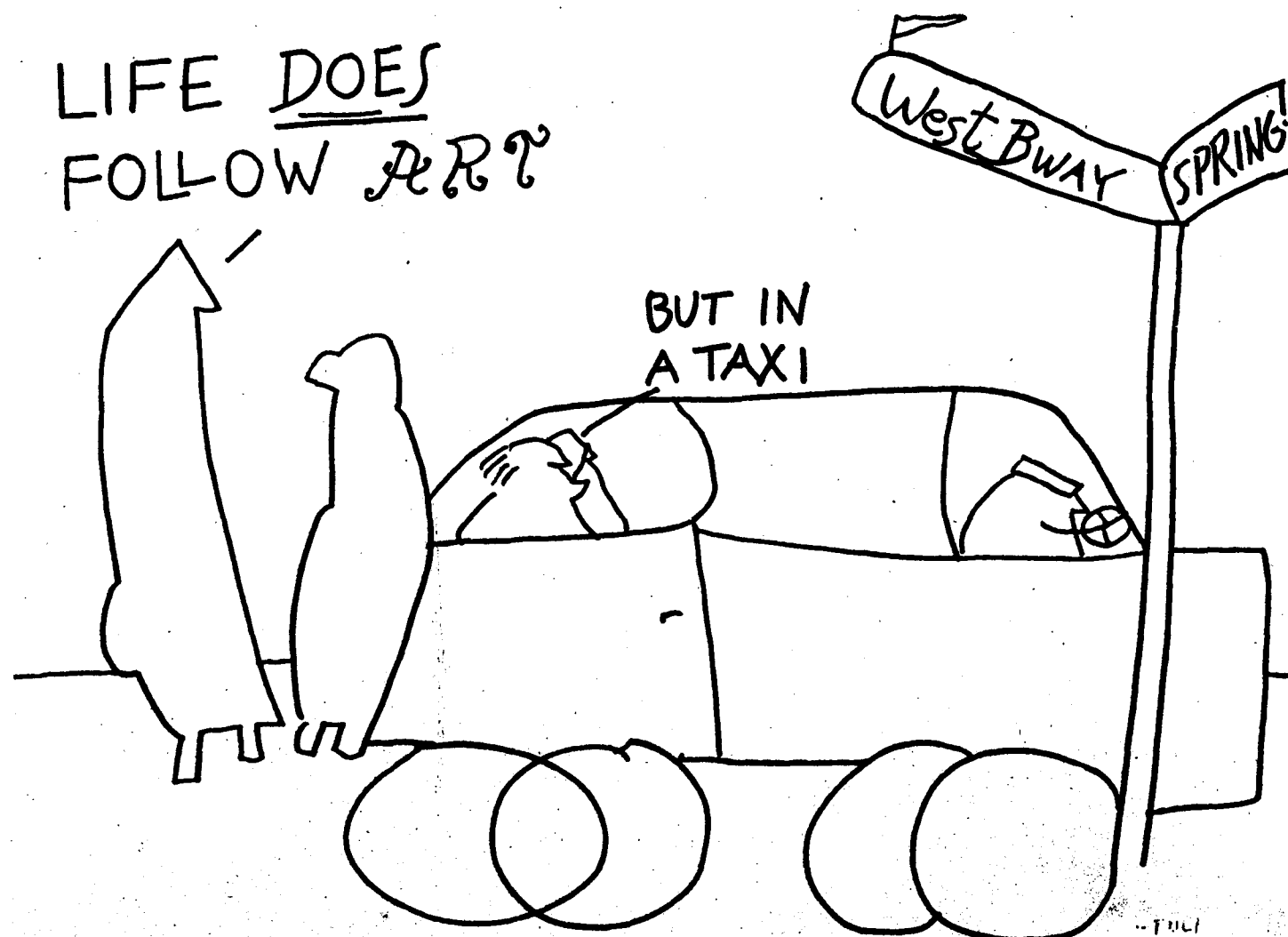
• Americas Watch, a US-based human rights group, based on a week of refugee interviews, charged that in their rural pacification program, the Guatemalan army committed "virtually indiscriminate murder" on the indian population (wire services, *Herald*).

• 74 peasants from a land reform cooperative were allegedly killed by the Salvadorean army, survivors told visiting US congressmen (UPI: *Herald, Post Dispatch, Press*).

On the other hand, the *Post* ran from side-to-side atop its front page, "Family Cries as Police Take Walesa For Questioning."

• Interviews with diplomats and opposition leaders in Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Argentina found a decline in US meetings, social invitations, and information sharing, all part of the shift from Carter administration attention to human rights. A representative of Uruguay's only remaining human rights group has met an American diplomat but once in the past two years (*NY Times*). If our policy is to discuss human rights privately with friendly governments rather than in the media, wouldn't we still want to maintain contact with potential information sources?

• The jeering of the Pope in Nicaragua was reported as being planned by the Sandinistas. A



group of visiting midwestern churchwomen said he was shouted at because of his "intimidation and theological manipulation" of the Nicaraguan Church. A Dominican sister said the crowd's mood changed from "loving obedience to confusion, and then anger" as he condemned leftist oriented clergy (wire, *Herald*). A nun who had served in Nicaragua since 1962 compared the "joyful preparation for the visit" with the confusion and anger that followed. In Costa Rica "he spoke about social justice . . . in Nicaragua, he condemned the Christians who worked for it" (*Courant*).

Seemingly specialized *Post* sections such as Religion, Business, and Real Estate often have stories of general political interest. The paper's failure to provide a listing of contents and neglect of cross-references no doubt cause many readers to miss items of interest. Real Estate reported the National Park Service suspended over half a million dollars in grants to DC's historic preservation program.

- The *Post* said the South African press had supported that country's raid into Lesotho in which many local people died and international condemnation resulted. A few days later the *NY Times* detailed criticisms of the raid from both Afrikaans and English language papers. *The Citizen*, born of secret government funds, asked if even success in wiping out ANC (African National Congress) representatives justified the costs in both criticism and "alienation of blacks here and in adjoining countries." The *Post's* failure to follow the story gave readers a picture virtually opposite of what happened.

- The fate of Walvis Bay, Namibia's key port, is disputed. SA claims it should stay under SA control. The UN, in both the Security Council and General Assembly, repeatedly says it's part of Namibia. A *Post* article on Walvis Bay noted the SWAP guerrilla claim it's part of Namibia, asserted SA's claim was strong and gave supporting arguments. It never mentioned the UN position.

- When a small black farming community met to protest SA government relocation plans, its leader,

Saul Mkhize — who commuted on weekends from his accounting job, was killed by police. Apparently the crowd moved towards the two officers, and Mkhize tried to calm them. But the fearful officers fired. The *Post* covered the story and had a tough editorial, but ignored a rare Reagan administration public criticism of SA. The US deplored his death and repeated its disapproval of the relocation policy (AP: *Herald*). SA rejected the comments as interference in its internal affairs. The *NY Times* covered the funeral which displayed unity among black groups opposed to the government but not always in agreement with each other.

The *Post*, giving background, noted that the 1913 Natives Land Act banned land deals between whites and blacks and divided the country into black and white areas. Actually Cape Africans continued to have land purchase rights outside their areas until 1936, reflecting the more liberal policies of the Cape when SA was formed. But, more importantly the *Post* ignored that it was not the Afrikaner Nationalist Party that made such laws.

DC BOOKSHELF

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Considerable discrimination existed prior to their 1948 election win.

- AP, the *Inquirer*, and the *AC Press* have reported an ongoing controversy in Atlantic City over whether an SA firm ought to be allowed to build and operate a casino there.

- The P-E Consulting Group did SA's largest wage survey (1982) and found the black-white wage gap widening in spite of private sector efforts to integrate workers and the black unions' pressures for unified wage scales. The gap between whites and coloreds and Asians was narrowing (*Rand Daily Mail* — Johannesburg).

- Chief Buthelezi, SA Zulu leader, complained that unprepared diplomats asked him many irrelevant questions. He thought many of them were unaware of what went on in SA since they lived in the capital and depended for information on media people and cocktail circuit "prominent personalities" (*Rand Daily Mail*).

Reagan met with the media to publicize Crime Victims Week and push his anti-crime legislation. Afterwards crime victims told their stories to the media. The Baltimore *Sun's* front page detailed some victims' stories and some of Reagan's remarks. A tiny *Post* story ignored the legislation and the victims' press conference, though it did print a large photo of the occasion — with an uninformative caption. Earlier the *Post* printed 0" on the report of the President's Task Force on Victims of Crime.

Some news not in the *Post*:

- Iran offered to create a safe zone around the burning, leaking oilfield that was polluting the (Persian, Arabian) Gulf and threatening desalinization plants. Iraq refused, demanding a total ceasefire, so fighting the spill was delayed (AP: *Inquirer*, *Herald*).

- The European Parliament, an advisory arm of the Common Market, asked a second time for the US to stop sales of hazardous substances already banned in the US (AP: *Arab News*).

- Key parts in a San Onofre, Calif. nuclear plant's safety system failed in several 1982 tests the NRC said. The company didn't report it to them (*LA Times*: *Herald*).

- British Prime Minister Thatcher's government abandoned the part of its police and evidence bill which gave police access to the confidential records of doctors, clergy, social workers and "other caring professions." They still want to give the police power to detain suspects without charge up to 96 hours, and to keep them from a lawyer for 48 hours. Now suspects may be held 24 hrs. and access to lawyers is within a few hours (Reuters: *Arab News*).

- Spain protested a British naval convoy's visit to disputed Gibraltar (UPI: *Globe*: AP: *Herald*). Spain complained to the International Civil Aviation Organization that British naval exercises disrupted the normal rhythm of civilian flights in an area with high traffic density (Reuters: *Arab News*).

The *Post* indexers have recognized the 1917 revolution. Last year there was no mention of USSR, Soviet Union, or Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It was "Russia." Not it's "Russia. See USSR."

HOPPE Cont'd

"What about poor people who can't afford \$10 a month for prayers?" said Glynda, a liberal to the core. "Are there any plans for a Prayercare program? Or, at the very least, Prayer Stamps?"

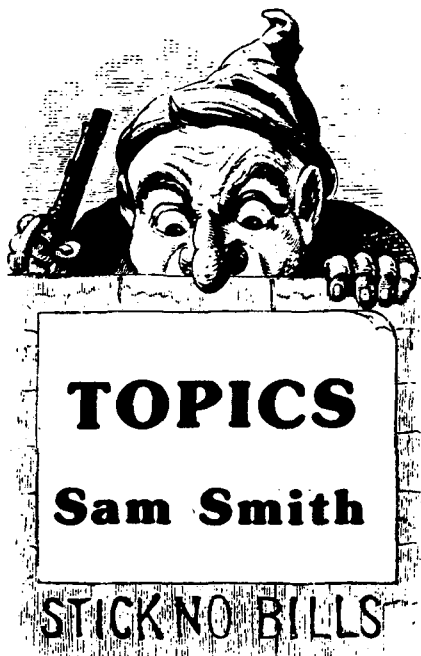
"That would violate the separation of church and state," I said. "I'm afraid the poor will just have to pull themselves up to heaven by their own bootstraps. But look at these absolutely free gifts Jerry will send us just for joining up: a free Bible in 'Giant Print' and two gold-plated lapel pins that say, 'Jesus First.' Here, have a look."

I handed Glynda the color brochure with photographs of the Bible and the pins. She glanced at them curiously and I think her eyes rolled slightly.

"I take it," I said, "that you don't have much faith in Jerry's ability to deliver."

She tossed the brochure back to me and shook her head. "He hasn't got a prayer," she said.

(Copyright Chronicle Publishing Co. 1983)



To cut through the euphemisms about presidential "fatigue," "distraction," "confusion," and "incomprehensibility" that you've been reading about, the question is whether the leader of the greatest democracy in the world (these euphemisms are catching) has gone dotty. It is an important question, although as Dorothy Parker said when informed that Calvin Coolidge had died, "How can you tell?" I have no independent information on this other than an impression that the absurdities of the man are more ad hoc and less orchestrated than in the past. You should watch this

carefully, reading between the lines of the painfully discreet reportage, but keep in mind that a republic that has survived assassination and presidential criminality can probably handle a patch of senility as well.

To return to Chicago for a moment, I have been fascinated by the use of the adjective "rebellious" by reporters describing the majority of the city council there. It is a particularly nifty example of the media's deep-seated authoritarian inclinations. The assumption is that because Harold Washington won the mayor's race, any politician who disagrees with him is rebellious. Under more traditional views of democracy (and in the case of Chicago, according to the law) a legislative body shares power with the executive and is entitled to its own opinion. The majority of the Chicago city council is apparently rebelling against the minority, a curious state of affairs even in Chicago, but one that could be quickly repaired if the press recognized the division of powers in the windy burg.

Although Arthur Laffer is often given credit for inspiring Ronald Reagan's bizarre economic theories, there is new evidence that at least some honor should be accorded to

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Judith Gelman, who in 1979 wrote a paper at MIT called "The English Economy Following the Black Death." Gelman's paper was subsequently published by the FTC after she went to work there. Senator Thomas Eagleton has raised questions as to whether the \$115 expended for this purpose was a proper use of government funds. What he failed to see was that Gelman's paper, if viewed in the light of the administration's economic policies couldn't be more to the point. Gelman notes that with the decline in the population, in part due to the black death, farmland was released to the survivors. Apprenticeships were shortened and the unskilled moved up the economic ladder. Says Gelman: "This phenomenon, which was a part of the adjustment process after each major outbreak of the plague, provides additional evidence that the surviving members of the lower classes of society bettered their lives in the aftermath of the plague." Modern medicine has done away with the black death, but if you substitute "supply side economics" for "plague" you'll see how relevant this all is.

Continuing our coverage of alternative presidential candidates, I am happy to report that author Allen Michael has entered the race. So far as I know he is the only candidate to claim to have contacted a UFO. His platform includes plan for "extra territorial intelligence for total world transformation."

Meanwhile, Gerald Wills (see DCG May) has started a monthly newspaper called the Nances Creek Bulletin. The paper promises "information about the national economy, views and news of Gerald Willis, news of the Gerald Willis Presidential Campaign, economic news, comments on national politics, news about flying and airplanes, information about lumber, soils, trees, cattle, farming and the environment" as well as "news about the happenings of the Nances Creek Community written in a humorous manner." A subscription is \$10 (PO Box 1984, Piedmont, Ala 36272-0784) but you should note the small print that reads "your subscription will start when sufficient subscriptions have been sold to obtain the necessary postal permits."

Women Organizers

ACORN is presenting a series of free films on women organizers. All films will be shown at the YWCA, 624 9th NW, at 7 pm. Films to be shown include "With Babies and Banners" June 13; "The Willmar 8" June 20; and "What Would You Do With a Nickel?" June 27. Info: 547-9292.

Peace Camp, American style

by Anne Chase

Women from all over the East Coast will be converging on Seneca Falls in upstate New York this summer to protest the installation of the Cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe. They are planning to camp outside the gates of the Seneca Army Depot to dramatize opposition to President Reagan's policy of escalating the threat of nuclear war.

The idea of the peace camp originated in Europe, where women are camping outside the proposed missile sites in Britain, Germany, and Italy to call attention to and protest the missile installations.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom suggested an American peace camp, to be called the Women's Encampment for a Future with Peace and Justice. Seneca is an appropriate place for a women's gathering because over the years it has been a meeting place for women demanding peace and equality. Today, the Depot is the storage site for the Pershing II missiles.

In 1590, the women of the Iroquois Nation met in Seneca to demand an end to war among the tribes. In 1848, the first Women's Rights Convention met at Seneca Falls, beginning the 19th century women's movement.

The camp will open July 4. Donna Cooper, the contact person in WILPF's Philadelphia office (and a former Peace Center staffer), said the camp is not an organized event. "Whatever women bring to the camp will happen there," she said. Participants should come equipped to camp and

bring food and tents, she said. WILPF is working to find a legal camp site.

Support organizations, which include Women's Strike for Peace, Church Women United, the War Resister's League, Women's Pentagon Action, various chapters of the National Organization for Women, the sisters of Loretto and the Saint Francis Sisters of Mercy, plan to hold discussions each week on nuclear war and the need for social action, Cooper said.

The participants of the camp will decide if they want to initiate any sit-ins or other actions to block access to the Depot, Cooper said. Other groups are planning demonstrations at Griffith Air Force Base in Rome, New York, the storage site of the Cruise missiles, one hundred miles from Seneca.

The camp will end formally on Labor Day, but its organizers hope that women will stay on after that.

A group of Washington women have founded the Seneca Women's Peace Camp Washington Support Group to organize transportation and provide material support to the peace camp. The group meets every second and fourth Monday of each month. It is also investigating local defense industries to see if they are connected with the Cruise and Pershing missiles. For meeting times and information on transportation to the camp, call the Washington WILPF office at 546-8644 or Mary Ann McMullen at 265-8183.

--Washington Peace Center newsletter

PRESERVING HOUSING

Where to Get Funds

[As we report in the Progressive Digest this month, housing preservation and readaptation has become an important means of providing housing. The National Trust for Historic Preservation has published a resource guide to some of the available sources of federal funds. Here are excerpts:]

SECTION 203 (k) REHABILITATION MORTGAGE INSURANCE

The Federal Housing Administration (FHA) insures private loans for the purchase and rehabilitation of one-to-four-unit properties. Since the insurance is based on the value of the property as if it were already rehabilitated, it is possible to obtain larger, more realistic loans from lenders. FHA insures mortgages before rehabilitation takes place, enabling lenders to release funds as work progresses.

Section 203 (k) is flexible. Virtually anyone can use it. The program is not limited to people below a certain income. Nor is it restricted to

economically distressed neighborhoods. Owner occupants as well as absentee landlords can use this program to buy and renovate a property, to refinance an existing loan and rehabilitate a house they already own, or simply to rehabilitate. The rehabilitation can be substantial or moderate. The one drawback: The program doesn't cover cooperatives or condominiums.

Mortgages up to these amounts may be insured: \$67,500 (\$90,000 in high-cost areas) on a singlefamily dwelling; \$76,000 (\$101,300) on two units; \$92,000 (\$122,650) on three units; and \$107,000 (\$142,650) on four units.

Information source: Robert J. Engelstad, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), Office of Single-Family Housing, Room 9266, Washington, D.C. 20410. (202) 426-0070. Or HUD area offices.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT BLOCK GRANTS (CDBG)

Through this locally administered HUD program, low interest loans and even grants for housing rehabilitation are available. Although CDBG funds may be used on either single or multifamily properties, they have tended to go into single family houses. The size and terms of the loans vary widely.

By law, cities administering CDBG programs are supposed to emphasize aid to families with low or moderate incomes. However, they can sometimes provide rehabilitation financing to higher income households willing to live in eligible neighborhoods.

Over 735 communities with populations of more than 50,000 are entitled to CDBG funds. Many smaller cities participate as well, but in their case, the program is administered by the states rather than HUD.

Information source: Local housing, community development or planning agencies. Or Don Patch, Director, Office of Block Grant Assistance, Room 7182, HUD, Washington, D.C. 20410. (202) 755-6587

SECTION 8 RENTAL ASSISTANCE

HUD's Section 8 program provides rent subsidies to low-income families living in apartments. Until recently, the apartments could be brand-new or substantially rehabilitated. Now, however, with the exception of contracts already in existence and projects in the pipeline, the program is being limited to existing buildings that either need no repairs or only moderate ones.

To be eligible for Section 8 assistance, a household's income must fall at or below 80 percent of the median income in the particular area. (Under pending regulations, the program will give priority to families with incomes at or below 50 percent of median.) Adjustments are made for family size.

The subsidy is based on the difference between "fair market rents" charged by the private landlord and 30 percent of the household's income. (Under previous law, a family was expected to contribute only 25 percent of its income to rent. The higher figure is now being phased in.) The "fair market rents" are determined by HUD and they vary from city to city. The subsidies may last for up to 15 years.

Section 8 is not a financing program for a landlord. Having a Section 8 contract can help in obtaining financing, but property owners must obtain financing on their own.

Information source: Local public housing authorities or Philip Abrams, Assistant Secretary for Housing, HUD, Washington, D.C. 20410 (202) 755-6600.

URBAN HOMESTEADING

HUD transfers vacant and abandoned houses to cities. They, in turn, offer the properties for sale at nominal sums, sometimes for as little as a dollar, to families willing to rehabilitate and live in the houses for at least three years. Once a family begins to occupy a house, it is supposed to bring it up to housing code standards within 18 months. A clear title to ownership is obtained after three years.

Homesteading is chiefly a single family program, but some multifamily properties have been homesteaded on a demonstration basis, and more of this may occur. Local governments usually make street, sidewalk or other public improvements in areas where homesteading is carried out.

Besides HUD-owned properties, housing owned by the Veterans Administration and the Farmers Home Administration may also be transferred to local governments for homesteading. HUD's program does not yet involve municipally owned houses, but proposals to include such properties have been made. Moreover, cities are free to develop homesteading programs on their own. About 107 cities now participate in HUD's program.

Information Source: Local housing or community development agencies. Or Robert Dodge, Office of Urban Rehabilitation, Room 7168, HUD, Washington, D.C. 20410 (202) 755-5685.

SECTION 312 REHABILITATION LOANS

HUD provides low interest, 20-year loans for housing rehabilitation. Single family, multifamily and mixed-use properties are eligible. However, in 1983 80 percent of the \$84 available million is earmarked for multi-family projects with the balance going to single-family projects in areas where homesteading is taking place. Local governments administer this program and they are supposed to give priority to low and moderate income applicants.

Under new rules, the interest rate on single family rehabilitation loans will be 3 percent for borrowers whose incomes fall below 80 percent of the median income in their area. For wealthier borrowers, the rate will be 9 percent. For multifamily properties, the rate will be 9 percent, except where the amount of private money going into a project exceeds the amount of the Section 312 loan. In that case, the rate will be 5 percent. Loan amounts may not exceed \$33,500 per housing unit.

Information Source: Local housing or community development agencies. Or Craig Nickerson, Office of Urban Rehabilitation, Room 7164, HUD, Washington, D.C. 20410. (202) 755-5970

SECTION 202 HOUSING FOR THE ELDERLY AND HANDICAPPED

HUD makes low interest (now 9-1/4 percent), direct loans to nonprofit sponsors of elderly housing. The term of the loan is 40 years.

Although Section 202 is identified chiefly with new highrises, it can be (and has been) used for substantial rehabilitation and adaptive use. Small group homes for the handicapped can also use this program to undertake renovations.

Information Source: Robert Wilden, Director, Elderly and Condominium Health Facilities Division, Room 6136, HUD, Washington, D.C. 20410 (202) 426-8730. Or HUD area offices.

SECTION 223 (f) MORTGAGE INSURANCE TO BUY OR MODERATELY REPAIR EXISTING RENTAL HOUSING

Through Section 223 (f), FHA insures loans used to buy or refinance mortgages on apartment buildings at least three years old. The properties must contain five or more units.

Under pending regulations for a new coinsurance program, private lenders may insure up to 15 percent of a 223 (f)-insured loan while FHA insures the balance. In return for sharing part of the risk, lenders will be allowed to process the loans themselves. They can thus avoid the red tape and long delays associated with FHA processing.

Loans insured under this program can cover moderate rehabilitation costs -- up to \$6,500 per unit (up to 140 times that amount in high-cost areas). Davis-Bacon wage rules don't apply, provided no more than one major system (e.g., plumbing, windows, electrical) is repaired.

Information Source: Jim Hamernick, Office of Multifamily Development, Room 6128, HUD, Washington, D.C. 20410 (202) 755-5720

TITLE I HOME IMPROVEMENT LOANS

Under Title I, FHA will insure 90 percent of a home improvement loan, up to \$15,000 per unit. For properties with two or more units, the overall loan ceiling is \$37,500, with no more than \$7,500 allowed per unit. The interest rate floats below that of the conventional market. The term is 15 years and 32 days.

Although there is a similar program specifically intended for historic properties, it has seldom been used for single family dwellings because it offers no significant advantages over the regular Title I program. For two to four family structures, however, the ceiling is a bit higher--\$45,000 (\$15,000 per unit).

Information Source: Earl DeMaris, Acting Director, Office of Title I Insured Loans, Room 9160, HUD, Washington, D.C. 20410. (202) 755-6680

URBAN DEVELOPMENT ACTION GRANTS

HUD makes grants to economically distressed communities, which use the money to provide various kinds of financial assistance to private developers or property owners. Although UDAG has been used extensively in the past to finance housing rehabilitation, the program now favors commercial and industrial projects. Housing projects can still be financed but only if they are linked to a commercial project, such as in a mixed-use development.

It should be noted, however, that repayments on loans from UDAG-assisted projects can be earmarked for housing rehabilitation (or any other CDBG eligible activity, for that matter, including historic preservation), if the local community so desires. This way of recapturing UDAG funds for housing (and historic preservation) is not well-known but has significant potential.

Information Source: Margaret Sowell, Director, Office of UDAG, Room 7258, HUD, Washington, D.C. 20410 (202) 755-6290. Or HUD area offices.

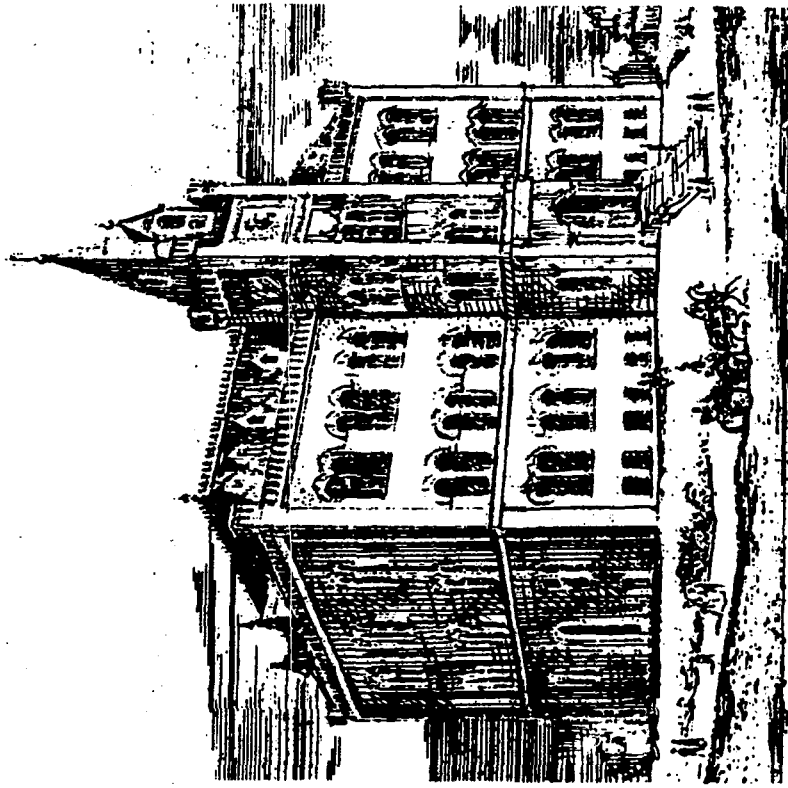
PENDING LEGISLATION

This is a time of great change in Federal housing programs.

At this writing, it appears that the House of Representatives may well reject the Administration's proposal to substitute short term housing vouchers for long term Section 8 subsidies. Even so, the view that Section 8 has become too expensive is widely held, so despite the Administration, the program appears to be on its way out as a vehicle for new production.

A possible successor to Section 8 is a "UDAG for Housing" program, proposed by Representative Charles Schumer and Senator Christopher Dodd. This would closely resemble UDAG but focus exclusively on housing. Communities determined to have a shortage of rental housing would qualify for grants, which they could pass on to private developers (or property owners) for all kinds of housing projects including new construction, substantial rehabilitation and moderate rehabilitation. It would be up to the local community to determine what kind of financial aid to offer, e.g. low interest loans, grants, loan guarantees or insurance.

Yet another proposal on the table is the Administration's Rental Rehabilitation Grant Program, for which HUD wants \$150 million in 1984. If Congress were to approve this proposal, (last year the House Banking Committee rejected it, while the Senate Banking doubled the amount), local communities with a supply of deteriorated but upgradable rental housing could receive grants to help private landlords undertake small scale renovations. HUD's assistance would be limited to \$5,000 per unit, with an equal or greater amount coming from private sources. The \$150 million requested would support 30,000 units. An equal number of housing vouchers would go to low income households living in units assisted through this program.



Sumner School

AROUND THE TOWN

• Save the Tivoli Inc is holding a benefit on June 11 to help raise money for the preservation of the Tivoli Theatre. There will be music by the Any Old Time Jazz Band and entertainment by the Rep. Inc. Tickets are \$25 for the event which will be held in the penthouse of the Hubert Humphrey Building at 3rd & Independence. SW from 8pm to midnight. Info: 462-2792.

• The school board has voted to set up computer labs in all schools by the end of the next academic year. Computer literacy will be required all teachers and administrators as part of their five year recertification requirement. And all teachers will have to demonstrate computer literacy in order to get tenure. Further, all students will have to demonstrate computer literacy by end of ninth grade beginning in the 1987-88 school year.

• The Howard University newspaper, the Hilltop, has won three top Mark of Excellence awards in regional competition sponsored by the Society of Professional Journalists.

• Add to the ever growing list of city snafus, the suspension of the DC historic preservation program by the National Park Service. NPS blames "long-standing budgetary and staffing problems." The suspension could cause delays in the certification of District projects and could lose the city more than a half million dollars in federal grant funds.

• Students at George Washington University have voted overwhelmingly to declare their campus a nuclear free zone.

• The Summer Bridge Program is a free, five week series of courses to help students make the transition from high school to college. It will be offered June 27-Aug 5 by UDC. Intensive instruction is offered in English, math and reading and study skills. The emphasis is on mastery of skills needed for placement tests and general college curriculum. Participants must have a high school diploma or equivalent. Orientation and testing begins June 18. Info: 364-6060.

• The DC government and the NCPD have released the preservation and historic features element for the comprehensive plan. The element is available for citizen review through July 20. For information call Sam Frazier, NCPD, 724-0174 or Carole Baker, Office of Planning, 727, 6558.

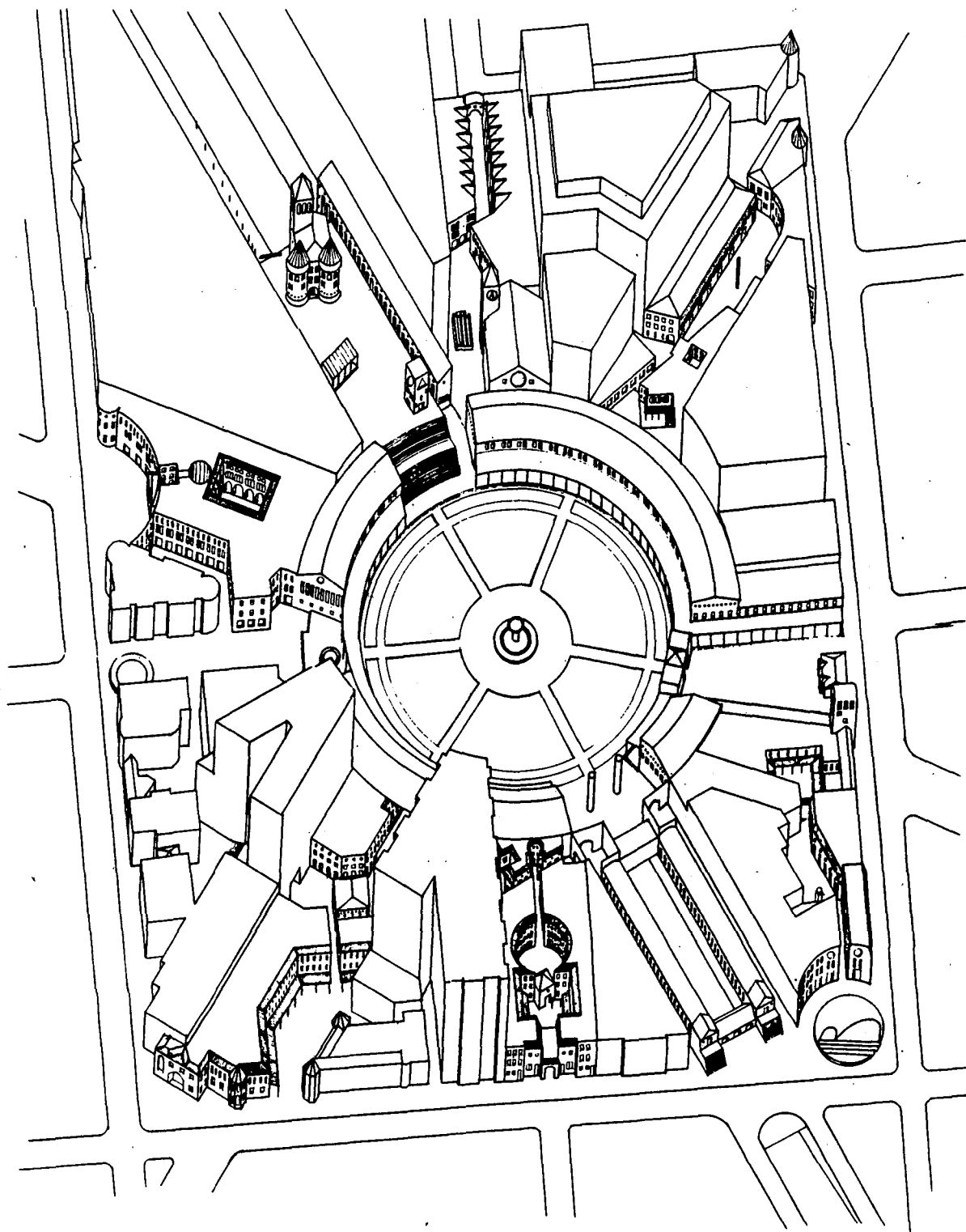
• June 30 is the deadline for the DC State Student Incentive Grant scholarships. Scholarship grants are available from \$400 to \$2000. Info: 727-3686, 1331 H NW.

• The city has a program under

which citizens help maintain small neighborhood parks. The program, now in its second year, now has 25 parks and playgrounds under its aegis. Interested groups may contact the Dept. of Recreation at 673-7660 or the Department of Transportation at 727-5691.

• A coalition of Dupont Circle Citizens groups have come up with an

alternative draft for their neighborhood which they would like to see replace the the Dupont Circle section of the comprehensive plan. In contrast with the city's plan for high density office development west of the circle between Mass and P the coalition has recommended that the P Street residential use be maintained with additional apartment buildings and retail space at ground level.



plaza dupont

CITY TALK

This drawing describes my individual vision of a comprehensive plan for the Dupont Circle area. My contention is that urban design for the community should be based on what is *possible* and *desirable*, rather than what is merely *permissible*.

When horseblinded by zoning and codes alone, the issues are narrowed to how best one can "fill up" and "decorate" 13 stories of pre-designated boxes of space. Because of this, the issue of what types and qualities of spaces we want for our community are never addressed. This has to be one of the *first* things to be considered!

It is not a forgone conclusion (as most architectural commission dilettantes and myopic developers in D.C. would love you to believe) that the Dupont Circle area can be planned only from one lot and square to another. Zoning and building codes are not tools used to design by negation! Protesting an addition to the Brookings Institution and a nudie bar is not a particularly effective technique of affecting urban design, nor does it constructively develop a comprehensive plan for Dupont Circle.

I hope that this project will motivate others to develop their own plans and ideas, taking the design of their community into their own hands.

—John Reyner

John Reyner is a local architect

The group also proposed a mixed apartment-retail use along 17th Street. The plan would increase residential population by 2500 and retail space by 100,000 square feet.

- Helen Helfer has been reelected president of Plan Takoma. Other officers include Jim McCall, Hugh Brown and Tony Giancola.

- Infant mortality has declined to its lowest level ever in DC. The current mortality rate is 20.3 per 1000 live births, down from 24.6 in 1981.

- The local chapter of the ACLU wholds its annual meeting from 4 to 7 pm at Mt. Vernon College on June 18. Info: 544-1076.

- Ron Britt has been elected president of the SW Neighborhood Assembly.

- Ted Jones, aide to Rep. Charles Rangel, has been named chair of the Banneker District of the local Boy Scout Council.



Roses & Thorns

- THORNS to the Washington Post for joining those favoring cancellation of ANC elections this fall.

- ROSES to Jeff Stein, who was turning the City Paper into an interesting and entertaining paper until he resigned in a fight with the owners.

- ROSES to Walter Fauntroy for introducing legislation that would do away with the 30-day congressional review period for city legislation.

- BELATED ROSES to Trumbell & Core and WMAL for the Gross National Parade, which featured such participants as a float in honor of the Blue Plains Sewage Treatment Plant, the Toro! Toro! Toro! Precision Lawn Mowers and the Synchronized Precision Briefcase Drill Team. This town, which takes itself so godawfully seriously, needs this sort of event. It was a smashing success, although no thanks to the turgid Washington Post, which downplayed the affair. Fortunately, DC has long had a tradition of fine radio humor, starting with Arthur Godfrey, running through the Joy

For up to date information on or copies of bills and resolutions, call the Legislative Services Unit—724-8050—10 a.m. to 4 p.m.

- Approximately 25 Vietnam veteran artists are participating in a show about the war at the Washington Project for the Arts through July 31. WPA is located at 400 7th st. NW and is open Tues-Sat from 11-5.

- Among America's largest cities, DC is at the bottom of the list when it comes to buying rock records, according to a survey by Mediamark Research.

- The DC school system is joining with five other schools districts around the country to form a satellite communications network aimed at improving teacher training. The system will be able to receive teacher training programs from national experts at minimal costs under the project, which is funded by a grant from the Department of Commerce.



Boys, Ed Walker and Willard Scott; Hardin & Weaver; and, most recently, bless them, Trumbell & Core.

ROSES to Polly Shackleton for joining the battle against the C&P phone hike proposal and the notorious scheme for "optional measured service." It would be good to hear from the rest of the council (and maybe even the mayor) on this one.

- Thorns to John Ray for sticking tenant witnesses at the end of the witness list during the recent hearings on repair and deduct legislation.

- Roses to Deal Junior High School whose students walked off with several awards at the Folger Student Shakespearean Festival including best performance, best actor and actress and best trees [sic].

PENNIES FROM HEAVEN

The Magical Coin



There is no limit to the number of tricks and magical effects that can be performed with the aid of the Magical Coin, also known among conjurers as the Hoo Coin. The coin can be made to mysteriously disappear right under the eyes of the spectators.

A round-up of the the best in city patronage hand-outs:

- The city was reported being close to signing a contract with the law firm of Sidley & Austin, under which the firm would act as the city's bond advisors. Several other firms will be hired as well including the one that employs Robert Washington, buddy of the mayor and attorney for the firm that Barry & Company want to win the local numbers contract. Loser in all this: ex-in black lawyer Jim Hudson

who made the mistake of supporting Pat Harris for mayor last fall.

- Whoever finally wins the city numbers contract can expect to earn \$2-3 million a year off the gig.

- Metro Center: a multi-million dollar bonanza with Oliver Carr getting at least 50% and Ted Hagans getting 30%. A minority group headed by Orlando Darden, Ruby McZier and Carolyn Jordan could buy as much as 20%. Meanwhile an economic consultant predicted last month that the city might not get any share in the profits of the development until 2008 (that's a year, not a zip code).

The whole thing is on hold as because of disputes about the minority contracting portion of the deal.

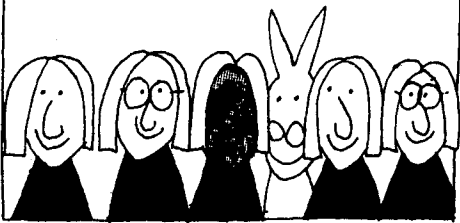
- Loser of the month: Lawyer Edward Black, who Barry was pushing for an empty at-large seat on the Democratic state committee. Some members of the committee said they had received as many as 16 phone calls from Barry operatives plugging for the little-known Black. It didn't work. The committee elected UDC prof and former statehood delegate Howard Croft.

ARCHHORSE

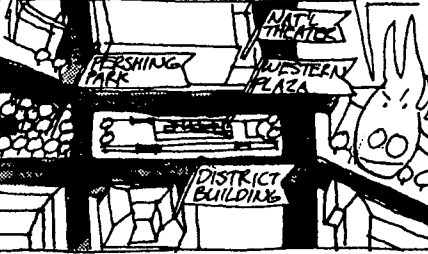
ANNOUNCING THE WINNERS



THE JUDGES HAVE PICKED THE **WINNERS** FOR THE ARCHHORSE-D.C. GAZETTE COMPETITION TO REDESIGN **WESTERN PLAZA**



(WESTERN PLAZA IS THAT PLATFORM OF PAVING PUT IN THE MIDDLE OF PENN. AVE., DISPLACING GRASS, TREES, BOSS SHEPHERD & IDEAS ABOUT GETTING TOURISTS INTO THE CITY.)



THE JUDGES CHOSE 4 WINNERS - ONE 1ST PRIZE, TWO 3RD PRIZES & ONE 4TH PRIZE



4TH PRIZE WAS WON BY JEROME DIXON, CYNTHIA BELISLE, EDWARD CALAMARI & RICK CARRAWAY OF BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA WITH A PROPOSAL TO BRING **LIVELINESS & SPATIAL ORDER** BACK TO WESTERN PLAZA



THEIR SOLUTION LETS PENNSYLVANIA RUN STRAIGHT THROUGH AGAIN - ON A BRIDGE OVER A SUNKEN WESTERN PLAZA. THEY'VE PUT BOSS SHEPHERD'S STATUE BACK IN FRONT OF THE DISTRICT BUILDING & THEY'VE BROUGHT IN PEOPLE BY USING THE BRIDGE TO HOUSE SHOPS & CAFES. THEY WANT TO RE-USE THE EXISTING PLAZA'S MAP AS A FOUNTAIN ELEMENT IN THE NEW PLAZA'S SUNKEN GARDENS.



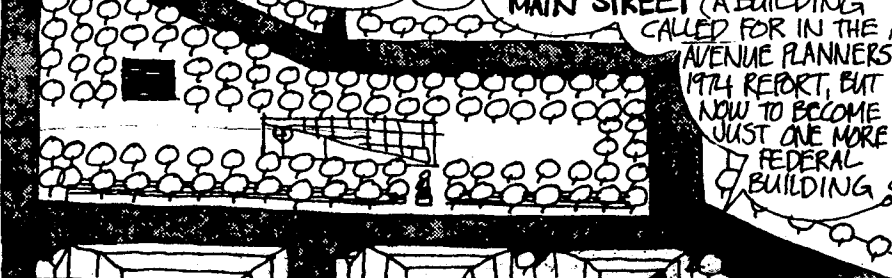
THE JUDGES THOUGHT THAT THE FLAGS & TOWERS SHOWN HERE COULD EACH HELP THE AVENUE GAIN LINEAR FORM, BUT HAVING BOTH WAS TOO BUSY - THEY ALSO THOUGHT THE BRIDGE SHOULD BE AS WIDE AS THE AVENUE IS



ONE 3RD PRIZE WAS WON BY CORNELL UNIVERSITY'S TEAM B: JOHN MILLER (FACULTY), LAURA ETTLEMAN, TOMAS ALAREZ, JOSE AMADOR, KURT ROSS, DEEPTIKA SHRESTHA, PAMELA VEIT & FRANK WILKINSON WHO PROPOSED PUTTING **GREENERY** TO THIS AREA ALL THE WAY BETWEEN 13TH & 15TH



LONG ROWS OF TREES COULD KNOT TOGETHER THE PRESENTLY AWKWARD JUXTAPosition OF FRESHING PARK'S TREES & LAKE AND WESTERN PLAZA'S PAVED MAP. BOSS SHEPHERD'S STATUE STANDS AMONG THE TREES OPPOSITE THE DISTRICT BUILDING & BESIDE WHICH A 2ND DISTRICT BUILDING HELPS GIVE THE DISTRICT A **STRONGER PRESENCE ON ITS OWN MAIN STREET** (A BUILDING CALLED FOR IN THE AVENUE PLANNERS' 1974 REPORT, BUT NOW TO BECOME JUST ONE MORE FEDERAL BUILDING)



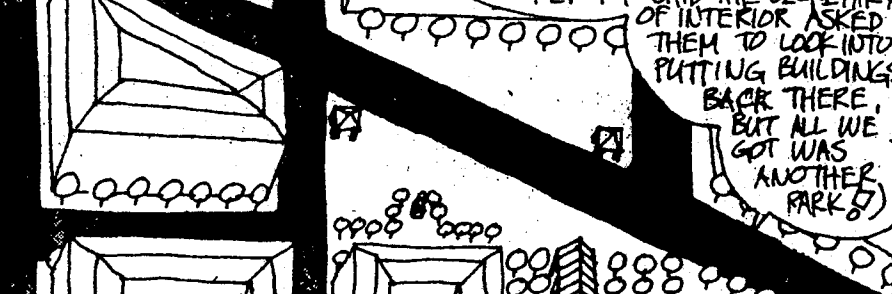
THE JUDGES LIKED SEEING A LANDSCAPE SOLUTION TO AN URBAN DESIGN PROBLEM, BUT THEY THOUGHT THE LONG GRANDSTAND UNDER THE ROW OF TREES ON THE SOUTH WOULD DISCOURAGE PEDESTRIANS FROM GOING NORTH, UP INTO THE CITY



THE OTHER 3RD PRIZE WAS WON BY DAVID MAUDIN & GARY HANEY OF WASHINGTON DC - THEY PROPOSED **IMPROVING ALL THE PUBLIC SQUARES ALONG PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE**, AS WELL AS FIXING UP WESTERN PLAZA



THEIR BEST IDEA IS BUILDING AN **ATTRACTIVE ARCADE TO HELP TOURISTS ESCAPE THE MALL & FIND THE CITY**. THEY ALSO SHOW PUTTING BUILDINGS BACK BETWEEN 14TH & 15TH TO GIVE THE AVENUE - & THE PLAZA SOME FORM ONCE MORE. (THE AVENUE PLANNERS' 1974 REPORT SAID THE SECRETARY OF INTERIOR ASKED THEM TO LOOK INTO PUTTING BUILDINGS BACK THERE, BUT ALL WE GOT WAS ANOTHER PARK)



MAUDIN & HANEY ALSO LET THE AVENUE RUN STRAIGHT THROUGH AGAIN - IN A WAY THAT MAKES WESTERN PLAZA INTO **FOREGROUNDS FOR THE DISTRICT BUILDING & NAT'L THEATER**. THE JUDGES THOUGHT THESE FOREGROUNDS NEEDED SOME FURTHER ELABORATION



THE 1ST PRIZE WAS WON BY STEPHEN MUSE, RUTH GIAMMATTEO, HO TAE KANG & BILL SPACK OF SILVER SPRING, MARYLAND WHOSE ENTRY WOULD REPAIR THE CURRENT PLAZA BY GIVING IT & THE AVENUE BETTER **SPATIAL DEFINITION**



THEIR SOLUTION DEFINES THE PLAZA WITH A NEW BUILDING BETWEEN 14TH & 15TH, & WITH A SECOND DISTRICT BUILDING. THE AVENUE'S LINEAR SPACE IS REINFORCED BY THE NEW BUILDING BETWEEN 14TH & 15TH & BY A NEW WALL MAP TO BE INSTALLED ON THE PLAZA. THEN, THE EXISTING PAVING MAP IS REBUILT OF GRASS AT PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE'S LEVEL SO THAT PARADES & VISTAS CAN PASS THROUGH.



THE JUDGES FELT THIS SOLUTION BEST MASTERED SPATIAL ISSUES HERE (WHILE STILL GIVING THE DISTRICT GREATER FOCUS) - BUT THEY ALSO THOUGHT FLAGS (SUCH AS THOSE IN THE 4TH PLACE SOLUTION) WOULD DEFINE THE AVENUE MORE GENTLY THAN DOES A GREAT WALL



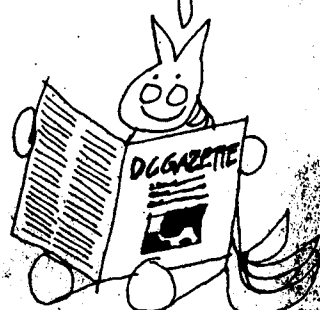
THE **BEST SOLUTION** MIGHT BE AN **ASSEMBLY OF THE BEST PARTS OF THE WINNERS**: THE FLAGS (OR TOWERS) & SHOPS OF 4TH PLACE, THE GRASS & TREES OF CORNELL'S 3RD PLACE, THE GREAT ARCADE THAT CONNECTS MAUDIN & HANEY'S 3RD PLACE PLAZA WITH THE MALL, & THE FINISHED SPATIAL DEFINITIONS OF 1ST PLACE



ALL FOUR PRIZE-WINNERS BROUGHT BOSS SHEPHERD'S STATUE BACK - AND GAVE IT SPLENDID EMPHASIS BY PUTTING IT ON AXIS WITH THE DISTRICT BUILDING & BY GIVING IT A SPECIAL SETTING. HOWEVER, NONE OF THE PRIZE-WINNERS DID ANYTHING MORE TO CELEBRATE THE **DISTRICT'S HISTORY & ITS CITIZENS** IN THIS SPOT RIGHT IN FRONT OF THE BUILDING WHERE THE MAYOR & THE CITY COUNCIL CAN BE FOUND. PERHAPS WE CAN WORK ON THAT IN A LATER COMPETITION



MEANWHILE, LOOK FOR THE **NEXT COMPETITION** (ABOUT FACADES) IN THE D.C. GAZETTE'S AUGUST-SEPTEMBER ISSUE



REPORT CARD

Opposed cancelling 1983 elections (+)
(based on last roll call vote)
Opposed delay in effective date of
no-fault insurance (+)
Sponsored bill repealing no-fault
insurance (-)
Favored repair and deduct legisla-
tion (+)
Introduced bill extending condo-
minium conversion regs (+)
Introduced bill for shared equity
housing purchases (+)
Supported bill restricting youths
in video arcades (-)
Supported demolishing the Tivoli
Theatre
Supported excessive writedown of land at
Metro Center (-)
Interfered in operations of lottery board (-)
Introduced bill requiring housing in new com-
mercial development (+)
Took junket to Germany paid for by World
Airways
Voted in committee to repeal
no-fault auto insurance (-)

	BARRY	CLARKE	CRAWFORD	JARVIS	KANE	MASON	MOORE	RAY	ROLARK	SHACKLETON	SMITH	SPAULDING	WILSON	WINTER
Opposed cancelling 1983 elections (+)	-	⊕	-	-	+	+	-	-	Ⓢ	Ⓢ	-	-	+	Ⓢ
Opposed delay in effective date of no-fault insurance (+)	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
Sponsored bill repealing no-fault insurance (-)								-						
Favored repair and deduct legisla- tion (+)		+		-		+		-		+	+		+	
Introduced bill extending condo- minium conversion regs (+)		+				+				+			+	
Introduced bill for shared equity housing purchases (+)													+	
Supported bill restricting youths in video arcades (-)			-					+	-	+				-
Supported demolishing the Tivoli Theatre	-													
Supported excessive writedown of land at Metro Center (-)	-													
Interfered in operations of lottery board (-)	-													
Introduced bill requiring housing in new commercial development (+)					+									
Took junket to Germany paid for by World Airways			-	-								-		-
Voted in committee to repeal no-fault auto insurance (-)				-				-			-		-	
1983 GRADE	6%	41%	16%	14%	100%	100%	40%	25%	40%	85%	20%	20%	60%	20%

This report card is based on our current information as to positions and actions taken by the mayor and city council on various issues. A + inside a circle indicates a switch from a previous negative position, worth one-half credit. A - inside a circle indicates a switch from a previous positive position, worth nothing. 1983 grades based on all positions taken this year; only pending or recent ones are listed above, however. Additions and corrections should be sent or called to the Gazette, 232-5544

COMMENTS: The city council this month continued its neck and neck race with the mayor in the Great 1983 Political Downhill Tournament. Most appalling, of course, was the decision to cancel the 1983 ANC elections, although the payola involved in the junket to Germany and the committee vote repealing no fault were close seconds. . . . To be fair, we can only record positions openly taken, so don't call up and say, "So-and-so is really against something but is keeping quiet about it." . . . The double-circle around Shackleton's vote on the elections indicates a double change of position. . . . For what it's worth, the clearest division on the council seems to be between men and women. The men have an average grade of 32%, the women 60%. Council average is 45%

This Mighty Dream

THIS MIGHTY DREAM, a multi-media exhibit on the history of social protest movements comes to DC June 13-July 30. It will be on display at the Lansburgh Building, 7th & D NW, June 13-22, and at Howard University Center, June 23-July 1.

The exhibit is sponsored by the Institute for Social Justice and ACORN and is funded in part by the National Endowment for the Humanities and the DC Community Humanities Council. The exhibit covers agrarian protest, labor organizing, racial and national liberation movements, urban protest, community organizing and women in social change movements.

There will be three discussions dealing with the topics of the exhibit. All sessions begin at 730 pm.

June 21: The Culture of Conflict: poetry, music, art, journalism, filmmaking, generated or influenced by social protest. Lansburgh's

June 23: Religion and Social Change: How religion and local religious leaders have been involved in social change. Howard University Center.

June 29: The Other Battle for Home Rule: The history of housing organizing in DC. Howard University Center.

There will also be a series of films on women organizers. See box on page 26 for details.

Info: 547-9292